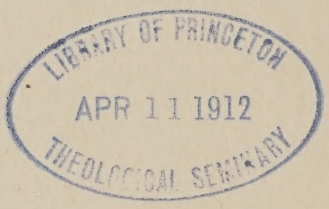
THE EVOLUTION OF LITERATURE

A. S. MACKENZIE



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RAMSES II, HERO OF THE KADESH EPIC.

The EVOLUTION *of* LITERATURE

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By

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Croire tout découvert est une erreur profonde ;
C'est prendre l'horizon pour les bornes du monde.
— LEMIERRE : *L'Utilité des Découvertes.*

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

Edward Caird

LATE MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena.

PREFACE

THE object of this treatise is to try to account for the origin and successive changes of literature as a social phenomenon. This is essentially an anthropological study, different in several respects from any of its predecessors. The selection and the arrangement of the data, many of the interpretations, and all of the provisional laws are believed to be new.

The empire of letters is extensive and extending. It must be conceded that to write a complete account of literary evolution is a task too great for any one person during a lifetime. It seemed better, therefore, to accomplish a limited work with relative thoroughness rather than to attempt a stupendous undertaking that might never be more than a torso of criticism.

At the outset two plans suggested themselves—to trace the evolution of a single literary type, so far as that is possible with the data at command, or to trace in less detail the successive phases of literature as a whole. After no little hesitation the latter plan commended itself as preferable. Even if much more intricate, it seemed to hold out greater hope of discerning with reasonable clearness the organic unity of literary evolution, for the internal process is exceedingly complex. It makes the rough places smoother, however, if the general trend of literary processes be indicated without undue intrusion of the inner entanglements of the problem.

Addressed both to scholars and to the general public, this book may be said to contain a presentation of what is usually termed Comparative Literature. While suit-

able enough for private reading, this inductive discussion will readily lend itself to classroom use. Indeed it has been published mainly because of the lack of an adequate manual of Comparative Literature. Some problems are unsolved and others may be insolvable, yet later data will doubtless throw additional light upon certain details of what I have ventured to call Literatology.

No one more than the author can appreciate the fact that this is simply a tentative contribution toward a more objective criticism of literature. Most of the collected material, much of it hard to obtain, does not encumber the pages that follow, because it seemed desirable to condense the exposition into a single readable volume. Intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive, synoptic rather than encyclopedic, it is the product of years of patient research in the course of which much encouragement has been received from scholars in various parts of the globe. This is specially true of such friends and former preceptors as Lord Kelvin, Professor David Masson of the University of Edinburgh, Sir R. C. Jebb of the University of Cambridge, and Professor Edward Caird of the University of Oxford.

Professor L. von Schroeder's brilliant work, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda,* was brought to my notice too late to be of service in preparing the section concerning Indo-Aryan drama. His main thesis is that certain hymns of the *Rigveda* point to the existence of mysteries and mimes during the early Vedic period. Scholars may hesitate to accept the mime theory, but it might be somewhat rash to deny that some of the dialogic hymns with their appropriate sacrificial ritual are potentially dramatic. There is no valid evidence of formal literary drama; there is no little evidence of incipient liturgic drama.

I am under great obligation to Dr. R. M. Wenley

of the University of Michigan for the revision of the manuscript. His acute analysis has been most helpful, though he is in no way responsible for the opinions advanced in the text.

All direct sources of information are indicated in the annotations.

M.

LEXINGTON, KY.

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THE EVOLUTION OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

THERE are numerous books upon literary history and literary criticism, all of some value, and some of much. The history of literary criticism shows that if Homer sometimes nods, an occasional doze is also enjoyed by Aristarchus. It was Dryden who asked Milton's permission to turn *Paradise Lost* into heroic couplets, believing that the epic would be improved by rime. Neither Wordsworth nor Coleridge found any charm in Gray's *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard.* It was Gray who saw no merit in Rousseau and asserted that Voltaire had not a spark of genius. Madame de Staël considered Spenser to be the most tedious writer in the world, while De Quincey thought that Caliban in his inebriacy never shaped an idol more hollow than Germany had set up for its worship in the person of Goethe. Byron declared that Chaucer was contemptible, and the elder Dumas supposed that his version of *Hamlet* was an improvement upon the original. To come to our own generation, a well-known critic avers that a half-dozen sonnets are enough for any one to write and thus animadverts upon the genius of a Petrarca or a Camoens, a Shakespeare or a Wordsworth, a Rossetti or a Lloyd Mifflin.

Although criticism is often more honest and more competent than it has ever been, it is evident that subjective criticism alone is not always a satisfactory guide. Is there no possible way whereby the art of the critic may be rendered a little more objective?[1] Can literary criticism not attain to the dignity of even a semblance of science? It may if we endeavour to broaden and deepen our conception of literature. It is such a purpose that regulates the hope and the scope of the pages which follow. Accordingly we shall regard the study of literary art as simply one of the subdivisions of anthropology, the science of man.

Though man's life is evanescent, science comes to his rescue, arranging his observations and inferences so as to bring harmony out of discord. Time is saved, and there is an economy of thought. To systematise knowledge is to throw it open so that every adequately educated person may draw upon it or contribute to it his experience. Order is a necessary condition of that ultimate co-operation between individuals and between groups, between races and between ages, which marks the transition from instinct to reason, from empiricism to science. There is particular need for system in literatology,[2] since it is an almost boundless realm that awaits exploration by one pathfinder after another.

To know any one subject well we are obliged to know others.[3] A knowledge of physics is as necessary for the chemist as a knowledge of biology is for the physiologist. The geologist excludes none of these from his chosen province, nor is the true student of literature unmindful of æsthetic, industrial, or social phenomena, and their continuous interrelation in the

[1] Brunetière and other scholars have done excellent work in seeking to upbuild a more scientific criticism. In recent years the most comprehensive work by a single author is Prof. George Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1902–4.

[2] Like the term sociology this is obviously a hybrid, half Latin and half Greek.

[3] Cf. E. Caird, *Social Philosophy of Comte*, New York, 1885, 198 f.; R. M. Wenley, *Outline of Kant's Critique*, New York, 1904, 32 f.

course of human development. Every research that deals with human activities must take into account many phases of the science of man. For instance, if we are ever to discover the principles underlying social progress so as to make conscious use of them in the present and future betterment of the race, the materials must be gleaned from records of a varying character. We shall have occasion to observe that literature is essentially a social phenomenon, so that when all pertinent data have been classified, philosophy aided by the other anthropological sciences may exalt literatology to a more or less permanent niche in the temple of knowledge.

Like every other line of human thought the study of literary evolution has its difficulties, the conquest of which may elude man for many a day. Let us glance for a moment at some of the obstacles that beset us. In the first place, the science of literary art is still in a rudimentary state, while the art of literature is world-wide in scope. These facts need not discourage us, however, for every department of human thought has problems, some unsolved, others perhaps insoluble. The student of this projected science must not merely observe facts, but he must seek to account for processes whose ramifications at times seem to lead to a labyrinth.

In the second place, though the harvest is plenteous the labourers are few. There is urgent need for those who are willing to toil patiently in unison. If some of the travellers, traders, and missionaries among primitive and barbaric peoples would write fewer rhapsodies upon scenery or personal adventure, they might find time to test the arithmetic ability of members of different tribes, to copy with fidelity the colours and designs of domestic utensils or weapons of the chase, to jot down the precise rhythms and figures of the dance as well as the details of marital or martial ceremonies, to

note or phonograph the words and music of the songs, and in short secure for all time an accurate account of those significant materials that are fast disappearing, thanks to the influence of steam and electricity. If linguists would try to find time to undertake the drudgery of preparing dictionaries and translations from a fair percentage of the hundreds of languages in existence, the study of both philology and literature would be greatly stimulated. Simple types of culture are possibly the keys to all history, ecclesiastical, political, or literary. Thus it is desirable that many should join hands in research before the modes and moods of lower culture become as extinct as Cornish or Sequanian. Even the known literatures are so numerous that no one person can hope to collect and select data enough for a truly comprehensive study of one literary type; but until the specialists have found time to perform their share of the task, the student of literary art may be permitted to take a broad outlook upon the phenomena that most urgently demand classification and interpretation. Even if the data be limited, their consideration may point the way to a solution that is not altogether misleading.

In the third place, our present study is to some extent tentative and cannot well be otherwise for some time to come. A play or a song may be a social product, but it is none the less the outcome of an individual mind. It is therefore to psychology that we must look for a possible explanation of æsthetic powers. Psychology, however, has troubles of its own. So far as we can judge at present, consciousness and volition constitute a much more important part of the evolutionary process than chemical reaction or gravitation. Again, if sensitiveness or responsiveness varies inversely with the age of the individual, being at its maximum in the new-born child,[4]

[4] A. Mackendrick, "Heredity and Environment," *Westminster Review*, 1904, 180 ff.

shall we ever be able to demonstrate that variation of sensitiveness has a cultural coefficient? Is it true that sensitiveness to physical environment decreases as societies rise in the scale of culture from primitive life upward?

While there are difficulties connected with this study, there are also encouragements. In the first place, there is the charm of novelty. If we were all constituted like Maeterlinck, we could perceive the strangeness of the familiar. In a sense there is nothing new under the sun. We were not the same yesterday as we are to-day. A sculptor cannot copy his own statuary without alteration, and if the poet forgets, he must either write something new or leave a fragment like Shelley's *Prince Athanase*. So the student of literatology will find certain observations which he may test afresh in the crucible of experience, and he may be led to ask questions whose answer demands both modesty and patience. With the higher forms of literary art every one is more or less familiar, but so long as one of the earlier or humbler forms lurks in obscurity, it is the duty of the earnest student to leave the ninety and nine and go into the wilderness after the one that is lost. Neglected elements are sometimes the most significant.

In the second place, the science of literary art presents definite problems that can scarcely fail to enlist the interest of the student. The complaint has been made sometimes that the study of literature offers no problems for solution, that it offers nothing more profound than the possible unification or reconciliation of the conflicting opinions of the reviewers.

Here are a few of the many problems. If language is the medium of literature, how did language arise? Why do children rejoice in a nursery rime and show less interest in a prose version of the same narrative? Is there any connection between child games

and the ballad or the drama? How did it ever occur to man to institute what we call poetry? What is it that makes the appeal of poetry so unique, so universal? Did poetry spring up in one country and did all others adopt or adapt? Was music earlier than poetry? What need in man does poetry satisfy, which neither music, dancing, painting, nor any other art can satisfy? Why does communal dancing decay in civilised society? What was its connection with poetry and the drama? What was the earliest form of poetry? Was poetry always independent of the other fine arts? What part has poetry played in magic ceremonies? In religion? In education? How has writing influenced the evolution of literature? Did prose arise before poetry? What are the laws of prose rhythm? Why are there certain favourite numbers in the ballads and in other forms of literature? What forms of literary art have appeared at some time in all countries? Which have not appeared in certain countries and why? In what ways has journalism influenced literature? What is the essential difference between Oriental and Western literature, or between ancient and modern? What has been the Keltic contribution to the world's literature? Is autobiography an exhibition of egotism? Is modern drama decadent? Why is the novel so popular at present? As science increases must art decrease? Fortunate indeed is he who can give a satisfactory answer to most of the foregoing questions.

In the third place, we are encouraged by the belief that the science of literary art will help to remove many misconceptions and pave the way for the ultimate brotherhood of humanity.[5] We still at times hear whispers of a latent hostility between science and art,

[5] "Non sum uni angulo natus, patria mea totus hic mundus est." Seneca, *Epistolae*, xxxviii. 4. Cf. Euripides, *Phaethon*, Frag. 4; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1151; Menander, *Monosticha*, 716; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 2, 4; Statius, *Thebais*, viii. 320.

whereas they are really comrades and friends. Without literary art there could have been but little science; without the scientific mood there can be only a partial appreciation of literary art. Science has an interest in literature as it has in any other phenomenon of life; literary art has an interest in science as it reveals more and more material for transmutation. Science and art are both eager to advance the welfare of man, and each recognises the value of the other's efforts. Since each is the complement of the other, it follows that the more we study literature scientifically the better shall we understand the conscious and unconscious processes of literary art. It may or may not be true that the elusive N-rays [6] will some day explain personal magnetism and thought-transference; it may or may not be true that the human voice will acquire the power of producing musical effects that are now inconceivable; [7] but certain it is that any hypothesis is good so far as it gives coherence to perplexing phenomena and allows the mind to advance in the exploration of new territory. Who knows but that the scientific viewpoint of literature with its intelligible survey of the past may tend to suggest and develop forms of literary art which have not hitherto occurred to man?

Furthermore, we all secretly long for the sympathy of creatures that are the very counterparts of ourselves; but observation has taught us that sometimes the bond between strangers grows closer than that between those born of the same parents, and a common interest in religion has been known to lead to dissension. Chief among the influences that bring human souls into touch with one another is classic [8] literature,

[6] Some experimenters have been unable to perceive these rays. Cf. *Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.*, Washington, 1904, 207 ff.

[7] Sir Morell Mackenzie, *Essays*, London, 1893, 87.

[8] Dr. J. E. Sandys (*History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1906–8) traces the word classic to the phrase *scriptor classicus* used by Gellius, who obtained it from Verrius Flaccus, to whom came the suggestion from the division of the Roman people by Servius Tullius into *classes*, those in the first class being known as *classici*.

which of course must be really known before it can be loved. The most sacred task of literature is to keep alive through all the changes of time a sense of the unity of man. Times and climes may vary, yet we shall see that the motives of literary inspiration are essentially identical—interest in man and an insight into his nature that resembles foresight. The veriest tyro in comparative literature knows of the borrowings and counterborrowings of practically all the nations of the earth. Indeed it is a law of human nature that the truth seems more true when it is shared by another. In this lies more than half the joy of the teacher. The more numerous are those who share an emotion the deeper it is in each. Why? Because the emotions of others are reflected in oneself. Writers like Shakespeare and Cervantes perhaps do more to promote good feeling between the nations than diplomacy the most adroit. Shelley scarcely exaggerates when he calls the poet the "unacknowledged legislator of the world." A sense of the inherent kinship of all true poets may help to scatter the mists that veil the conception of human solidarity. Soon there may be no further need for warfare and but little need for international arbitration. When men learn to approach great writers from the scientific as well as the artistic viewpoint, they will more readily appreciate that cosmopolitan literature which is beginning to knit the peoples of earth in a spiritual unity.

Evolution

It is now time to obtain some idea of the sense in which the word evolution is to be employed, and next to consider the best method for making manifest a few of the more important details of literary evolution. It will be early enough to attempt a formal definition of literature when we are more familiar with its phenomena.

History shows that evolution is a somewhat protean word.[9] There are those who regard evolution and progress as synonyms, although social evolution, for instance, may be progressive or regressive. Etymologically progress implies nothing more than change, but in the course of time it has come to mean change for the better. It is in the former sense that we shall use the term evolution. The word implies change not chance, for all changes are in harmony with certain laws, be they known or unknown.

The brilliant synthetic philosophy of Herbert Spencer is the exposition of a theory of universal and orderly change. It is most difficult, however, to believe that the laws of physics or mechanics are of universal application. It is the interpretation of evolution rather than the fact that is open to question. Successive adaptations to a changing environment form an evolutionary series, but the result may be positive, neutral, or negative. The evolutionary process is from the simple to the complex, with an increasing unification of the whole and specialisation of the parts. Nevertheless complexity has no value in itself. Unification and specialisation with a continuous adjustment to environment are factors that serve to mark rather than define progress or change for the better.

Again, inasmuch as literature is a product of social life, the evolution of literature is constantly dependent upon that of society. Such phrases as struggle for existence, survival of the fittest, and natural selection do not adequately account for either social or literary evolution.[10] Might is not always morally right, though it may be biologically right. Lizards may thrive

[9] Cf. H. Spencer, "Progress—its Law and Cause," *West. Rev.*, April, 1857, 446 (employs the term in the sense of ordered sequence); E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1904, i. 18, 24, 363; C. W. Saleeby, *Evolution the Master-key*, London, 1906, 8, 301; E. B. Woods, "Progress as a Sociological Concept," *Amer. Journ. Sociol.*, Chicago, 1907, xii. 779.

[10] J. Le Conte, "Scientific Relation of Sociology to Biology," *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, 1879, xiv. 430; L. F. Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1906, 250; Woods, 800.

where human groups would perish. Every day artificial selection is setting at naught mere natural selection. In short, man is not bound to the chariot of fate, for civilised society with its ethical and æsthetic activities is the sequel to the gradual triumph of the forces of conscience and reason over the blind forces of inanimate nature and the sentient forces of instinct and temperament.

Observing that the mechanism of biological evolution cannot adequately account for successive or successful changes in society, some have turned to economics. Beyond a doubt industrial conditions play a leading part in social evolution, but we must guard against fallacy. Goods and good are not interchangeable terms. Economic goods constantly figure in social evolution, yet wealth or surplus of goods does not satisfy every need of human life.

What is the criterion of social evolution? When is a change for better or worse? We must remember that from the modern standpoint the individual does not primarily exist for the sake of society, but society for the sake of the individual. A given stage in evolution is not of necessity better than the one that preceded. When we recognise a higher stage, it is only because we recognise a greater opportunity for the self-expression of each unit of an ethnic group. It is not chronology that decides whether evolution is higher or lower. Social as well as literary progress is anthropic. Wherever there is increased satisfaction of ethical, intellectual, æsthetic, and other social activities, there alone have we a more exalted phase of the evolutionary process.

The Method of Study

Understanding that evolution denotes orderly change for better or worse, let us now for a moment consider the method to be employed in making a study

of its application to literature. The aim decides the way in which the material is to be treated. A method may claim to be scientific when it not only enables the student to perceive each truth, but so arranges these truths that he can at any time view and review the route by which he is travelling. Thus the scientific method has both rigidity and flexibility. It is comparatively easy to keep on the road if we do not lose sight of the destination. If at every point in the examination of a problem the student is able to see the goal, he is in a position of independence. If the premises or facts are properly presented, he is not obliged to follow the conclusions of another.

For our purpose there is a choice of methods, either the historical or the comparative. Each has the same ultimate aim, though their point of view and their arrangement of facts are somewhat different. We shall again and again be confronted by the fact that even when continuity and contact are most improbable, there are many striking resemblances which tend to prove the common psychic nature of man. For example, the sun temple of Stonehenge [11] in the south of England may have been built nearly four thousand years ago, yet there is no reason to suppose that the origin of this specimen of megalithic art should be sought in Central America, the isles of the Pacific, or anywhere outside of Britain. In the life of many peoples was an epoch during which they erected great stone monuments, and this was not of necessity due to imitation, but rather the outcome of an analogous development of culture. Again, the Elysium of the ancient Kelt is in the west, as is the Paradise of the far-off children of Nippon. Moreover, Japanese drama has in many ways a striking resemblance to medieval forms of European scenic art. Indeed in the general history of humanity as well as in the history

[11] W. Gowland, "Excavations at Stonehenge," *Athenaeum*, Jan. 4, 1902; *Amer. Antiq.*, Chicago, 1907, xxix, 339 ff.

of literary art, similarities often recur where borrowing seems most unlikely. From many such instances we may therefore conclude that the human mind at equal stages of civilisation seems to work under the same general laws.

When we seek to investigate similar ethnic facts, apart from their historical connection, we employ the comparative method; whereas the historical method strives to find out the causes for such facts by showing their relation to anterior facts. Of course, there is no antagonism between the methods. They are complementary, as may be observed in some of the works of those who write about Comparative Literature.[12] It is the comparative method, however, that must be largely relied on to show the existence and nature of literary evolution.

It has already been indicated that in anthropology the path of the student is by no means so smooth as it is in the natural sciences. Even if biology could lead us past the threshold of human activities, biology itself is restricted by its inability to reproduce certain facts of the past. There is a sense in which it can scarcely be said that history repeats itself.[13] If for no other reason our knowledge of the past deters us from exact reproduction. We may imitate form, but we cannot easily recall the spirit that therein expressed itself. For example, the chemist not only can predict what will happen under certain conditions but he can at will bring back or vary the conditions. Hence it is only in the realm of the material that we need expect to find an exact science.

Nevertheless human life has a sequence of its own.

[12] Cf. H. M. Posnett, *Comparative Literature*, New York, 1896; L. P. Betz, *La Littérature Comparée*, 2nd ed., Strasbourg, 1904, (best bibliography in existence); F. Loliée, *Short History of Comparative Literature* (trans.), London, 1906. For a scholarly account of different uses of the phrase Comparative Literature see C. M. Gayley and F. N. Scott, *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism*, Boston, U. S. A., 1899, 248 ff.; C. M. Gayley, "What is Comparative Literature," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 1903, pp. lxxiv ff.

[13] John Caird, *University Addresses, Glasgow*, 1899, 255.

Education is based on the belief that there are definite laws of human development, in harmony with which the spirit may be shaped toward a definite ideal. Poetry itself is more than a holding up of the mirror to nature. All life is confused and without definite meaning until reason begins to select and collate. If we cannot make direct experiments, we can take pains to observe experiments in the ever-busy laboratory of nature. We can analyse pertinent effects that were or are produced under certain conditions, and thus may learn probable causes. This analysis may help us so to discriminate between the casual and the causal that eventually we may see and seize the opportunity of laying bare the underlying processes of literary development.

To the student of literature it is a matter of very little moment whether Shakespeare was born in 1560 or 1561, or whether his birthplace was Stratford or Coventry. The important questions are of another character. Can we account for the origin and nature of his work? Can we explain why and wherein it differed from that of other histrionic artists? In general, under what circumstances do certain literary types flourish? That is to say, we are concerned with similarities or differences of conditions, external and internal, under which homologous classes of literary phenomena appear. We shall therefore have occasion to compare drama with drama, lyric with lyric, narrative with narrative, beginning with what are most probably the nearest available approximations to primeval literature.

CHAPTER II

PRIMITIVE MAN

In the opening chapter we have observed that literature appears to be a psychic expression of social man, and its study emphasises the correlation of the sciences as of the arts. Certain limits have been pointed out, such as the vastness of the literary field, the relative scarcity of workers, and the tentative character of the present essay. On the other hand pledges have been given of novelty, of definite problems leading to quest and perhaps to occasional conquest, coupled with the assurance that in transferring to art the universal spirit of science we promote the federal ideal of literature. It has been suggested that there is an evolution of art, especially literary art, in which the operation of human selection has the advantage of explaining the higher types of development without explaining away the lower. The goal at which we aim gives the clue to possible attainment. The study of literature may disclose a continuity of process, the proof of which cannot be shown by direct experiment, but by analysis of nature's experiments as they reveal themselves under conditions that make society and its products possible.

If there be any truth in the startling hypothesis that "the human soul has been gradually developed in the course of millions of years," [1] its determination does not belong to literary criticism. In our quest for the actual beginnings of literary art the way is for ever barred, whether or not it is true that the first man ap-

[1] E. Haeckel, *Evolution of Man*, 5th ed., 2 vols., New York, 1905, ii. 874. Cf. Ward, 48; Saleeby, 236.

peared on a continent called Lemuria,[2] now said to be sunk beneath the waves of the Indian Ocean. So far as our present search is concerned, it would perhaps help but little if we knew the precise part of the planet where man first appeared, for we can scarcely hope to obtain any direct knowledge as to how and when man laid the foundation of literature.

Whatever be the antiquity of man, it would be imprudent to allege that primeval humanity was incapable of expressing emotion. If the lower animals can employ gestures and inarticulate cries, it is safe to surmise that the earliest of mankind could do likewise. In varying degrees all ethnic groups have acquired some culture, while the highest anthropoids never go beyond mere mechanical aptitude. Granting that man rose above other animals through superiority of brain power, it is reasonable to infer that he could soon learn communal gestures and cries which led to a rude form of dance and song, possibly not much inferior to those that are found among some of the lowliest tribes of to-day. If they ever existed, the uncouth leaps and the quasi-articulate wailings of the earliest generations of men are gone for ever. Laying aside speculation what is the fact? If we seek to reconstruct the remote past of our progenitors, history declines to lead us back beyond the more recent stages in the development of culture. It is therefore to prehistoric archæology that we naturally turn for the earlier.

Man's first appearance upon earth is as early as the pleistocene or glacial period. The American evidence is not yet conclusive, but Western Europe has been carefully examined by geologists and archæologists, so that it is in Europe that the archæologic geologist finds the richest material for study. In that distant period the chilling mists of the lowlands were whitened into snowflakes on the uplands, which fed the stupendous

[2] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1901, 229; Haeckel, 634 f.; C. S. Wake, *Amer. Antiq.*, 1907, xxix. 350.

glaciers. It was on this dank and stormy zone, hearkening to the tramp or the roar of fierce and mighty beasts, that man triumphed in the struggle for existence. By the power of his intellect he controlled the laws of natural selection, and long before history began he rendered himself in some measure independent of his physical environment. Social and literary evolution became possible when man saw that present attainments are constantly beckoning to higher achievements. The first implement of flaked flint contained a prophecy. The man who first chipped a stone did so under the impulse of a noble discontent. He believed that he could adapt it to his necessities. By a process of induction he foresaw that under certain conditions this chipped flint would invariably serve a given purpose. On the day when his reason enabled him to improve the raw material of nature, prehistoric man assured for himself and his descendants the sovereignty of the human race.

The palæolithic epoch exhibits the oldest extant examples of æsthetic skill. The men of that time were contemporaries of creatures such as the cave-bear and the woolly rhinoceros. It was then that the mammoth roamed through the provinces of France and the reindeer was nibbling the grass of Spain. Without any knowledge of agriculture men were hunters [3] and fishermen, some of whom found leisure to make stone, bone, and ivory engravings and paintings [4] of various animals as well as of man, most of the specimens having been found in the cave dwellings. Moreover they sketched geometric designs consisting of various

[3] A. de Mortillet, "La France aux Temps Préhistorique," *Bull. de la Soc. Anthr.*, Oct. 1871, 271; Sir John Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, 5th ed., New York, 1890, 341 ff.; T. Wilson, "Prehistoric Art," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1896, 357; W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, New York, 1899, 486; E. R. Lankester, *Kingdom of Man*, London, 1907, 15 (avers that palæolithic artifacts were not improbably made 150,000 years ago).

[4] Sir D. Wilson, *The Lost Atlantis*, New York, 1892, 186 ff.; T. Wilson, 358; T. C. Chamberlin and R. D. Salisbury, *Geology*, 3 vols., New York, 1906, iii. 514 ff.; R. Jeannel, "Sur la découverte de peintures prehistoriques", etc., *C.-R. Acad. d. Sci.*, Paris, 1908, cxlvi. 654.

arrangements of dots or lines, mainly parallel lines, wavy lines, or zigzags. The palæolithic artists had some familiarity not only with drawing or engraving but also with sculpture.[5]

So far as is known there is no art more ancient than that of the palæolithic epoch, but neither this nor the later neolithic epoch gives the slightest clue to the beginnings of literary art. True enough there is a close kinship between music and poetry, and if we had some knowledge of the earliest instrumental music of Europe we might approach the very threshold of poetry. The truth is, however, that the only musical instruments of palæolithic times which have hitherto been discovered are whistles of bone or horn. These whistles[6] may have been used in hunting or in warfare, or they may have lent emphasis to the rhythm of dance and song. In any case it is obvious that whistles can scarcely serve to blow away the mists that envelop prehistoric song or literary origins.

Let us glance now at that branch of philology which is sometimes called Linguistic Palæontology.[7] Through a comparative study of language an attempt has been made to reconstruct the prehistoric[8] period of man's social and literary career. This method looks plausible because speech is the raw material out of which comes literature. One scholar[9] has gone so far as to state definitely that the primeval Aryans or Indo-Europeans composed poetry, especially hymns.

[5] T. Wilson, 398, 412. The numbers and alphabetic characters of the grotto of Mas-d'Azil were painted on pebbles and other objects after the pleistocene period. Cf. E. Piette, "Notions complémentaires sur l'Asvlien," *L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1903, xiv. 641 ff.

[6] N. Joly, *Man before Metals*, New York, 1883, 303; T. H. Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature*, New York, 1894, 239f.; T. Wilson, 524.

[7] A. Pictet, *Les origines Indo-Européennes ou les Aryas Primitifs, essai de paléontologie linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1859–63; C. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, 2nd ed., London, 1890, 10 ff.; Isaac Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, 2nd ed., London, 1902, 24, 295; H. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, New York, 1902, 131.

[8] H. A. Strong, W. S. Logeman, and B. I. Wheeler, *History of Language*, London, 1891, 299; W. D. Whitney, *The Life and Growth of Language*, New York, 1899, 194 ff.; O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pref.

[9] T. Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, Munich, 1869, 597 ff.

Alleging that we can deduce the form of this ancient poetry, another[10] has asserted that its controlling principle is neither accent nor quantity, but syllables. A third[11] is equally positive that there are two classes of ancient Indo-European poetry—riddles and spells.

All assumptions of this kind are somewhat deficient in historical perspective. When we try to reconstruct a sentence of the problematic parent speech, each word may be grammatically correct, and yet the sentence as a whole is a ludicrous piece of patchwork that ignores differences in dialect and in development.[12] It is rather rash to suppose that all Aryan prototypes existed at the same time as independent words. Until philology can determine the precise time during which the various phonetic laws have been in operation, all so-called reconstructions of a common prehistoric language are bound to be precarious. Nor is the universality of a phonetic change a clear proof of its antiquity.[13] The oldest words may survive in only one language, yet we cannot prove that they are original. Hitherto all literary reconstructions of the remote and prehistoric have been pure fictions of the imagination, and it is perhaps impossible to restore the primeval Aryan language in such a way that it can ever be used as a basis for literary inference.

Since neither history, archæology, nor philology is at present a safe guide for those who seek to investigate the beginnings of literary art, we are obliged to turn to ethnography, which in a general sense includes inquiry into grades of culture. Of course, if we search for a modern duplicate of primeval man our quest is

[10] R. Westphal, "Zur vergleichenden Metrik der indog. Völker," Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen, und Lateinischen,* ix. 437 ff.

[11] A. Kuhn, *Zeit, f. v. Sprachf.,* etc., xiii. 491.

[12] J. Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indog. Sprachen,* Weimar, 1872, 30 f.; K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleich. Grammatik der indog. Sprachen,* 2 vols., Strassburg, 1886–8, i. 290 ff.; (2nd ed., 1897, i. 23 f.); A. H. Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology,* London, 1893, 220.

[13] H. Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte,* 2nd ed., Halle, 1886, 41. Cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Comp. Philology,* Cambridge, 1906, 84, 134.

doomed to failure. Life involves change, so that even the lowliest clans or tribes of to-day are bound to be different in some respects from their prehistoric ancestors. In the course of their migrations the descendants of primeval man have become modified by the nature of the climate, the food, and the conflict between themselves and the lower animals. Geographical variation along with a more or less active psychic development has altered ethnic groups everywhere, so that reconstruction of primeval culture is largely a matter of surmise.

This admission, however, in no way impairs the fact that everyone recognises the existence of various degrees of civilisation, which are the outcome of the constant action and reaction of mind and environment upon each other. What, then, is civilisation? Civilisation is the effect of natural selection aided by artificial selection. It is the measure of man's success in utilising the laws of nature for his own happiness. Employing the latter definition as a convenient standard, it may be said that the highest civilisation is that which is most completely rational.[14]

Observation has shown that even at the lowest stage of culture man possesses articulate speech, employs natural objects in hunting and fighting, and forms ethnic groups without which he could scarcely maintain the struggle for existence. He is thus immeasurably superior to any other creature, for to a certain extent he lives in an artificial environment created by himself. Mankind may therefore be arranged in an ascending social scale marked by the terms Primitiveness, Barbarism, Autocracy, and Democracy. Abstractions are necessary in order to make thought more definite, yet this classification is only approximately accurate, because communities so shade off into one another that

[14] Edward Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., Glasgow, 1899, i. 175; John Caird, *Philosophy of Religion*, Glasgow, 1901, 329; J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, 4th ed., New York, 1901, 411 f.

they may possess some of the characteristics that seem to belong to another class. Each of these four stages is capable of one or more subdivisions,[15] for the primitive Fuegians are lower in social status than the primitive Eskimo, just as the barbaric Hypurinas of Brazil are inferior to the barbaric Zulus of South Africa.

The first or lowest stage of social development, here called primitiveness, is usually known as savagery. The popular opinion is that the savage is cruel and bloodthirsty, but the student of mankind employs the term in a strictly technical sense. So-called savage tribes are often less bloodthirsty[16] than mobs of civilisation, and are sometimes more peaceful than highly civilised nations. Primitive has reference to form, whereas primeval refers to time. No savage clan or tribe of to-day can possibly be primeval, but it is certainly primitive in the sense that it is largely dependent upon the apparent caprices of nature. In other words primitiveness is the state of a social group that shows the simplest or least organised structure, and such a term, when properly defined, avoids ambiguity.

Every living creature must eat to live, so that food is the most urgent necessity at every stage of culture. In trying to satisfy the hunger of himself and his family, man finds that the animals of the chase have superior speed, strength, sight, smell, or hearing, so he is obliged to match his cunning against theirs. To him alone among living creatures can be ascribed inventive ability. He must lose himself in labour before he can find himself in art, and so he learns to make tools and weapons. Thus arise the industrial arts, which ultimately lead to the liberal arts and sciences.

[15] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1892–9, i. 306; J. Deniker, *Races of Man*, London, 1904, 127. Cf. A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, *Evolution of Culture*, Oxford, 1906, 50.

[16] A. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, Edinburgh, 1880, 228; Y. Hirn, *Origins of Art*, London, 1900, 264.

The simplest human group is the one that follows the simplest or most obvious way of making a living. That way consists in finding animal or vegetable food more or less by chance. Sometimes destitute of a nominal leader, the political organisation of the hunters is at times so lax as to involve but little co-operation except at the approach of grave danger. It follows that the hunting tribes of to-day are the sole representatives of primitive society, and to the primeval mode of life they seem to approximate more closely than any peoples that are now observable.

The distinction between a primitive and a barbaric tribe will become more definite as we pursue the study of literary evolution. Primitive tribes rest upon a natural basis of sustenance, whereas barbaric tribes have a restricted artificial basis. Outside the pale of history lie the beginnings of this stupendous transformation. Primitive man catches beasts, birds, or fish where and when he can; barbaric man has learned to domesticate animals so that he may be independent of their migrations. Primitive woman gathers the wild fruits, roots, or cereals where and when she can; barbaric woman has learned to cultivate such plants as experience has taught her to be useful for nourishment or healing. Consequently primitiveness is upon a less rational basis than barbarism. The lowlier barbarism can boast of either herdsmanship or agriculture, while the higher can boast of both. Each is superior to hunting in its encouragement of co-operation, and each tends to inaugurate and strengthen that unity which is implied in political government.

Though there is a certain periodicity in the concerted movements of beasts, birds, and fish, primitive man is too busy trying to satisfy hunger to dream of a rational explanation of these movements. Uncertainty dogs his footsteps day by day, until he reaches the barbaric stage. Then for the first time he in large measure

determines the nature and the extent of the food supply. The future is robbed of much of its instability, and the planned sequence of husbandry arouses in him the feeling that law, and not chance, underlies the phenomena of life. It is now possible to have a much greater surplus of food, and thus arises that social differentiation, or variety in the nature of labour, which leads to a more advanced unity.

The third stage of social culture may be called Autocracy. Barbaric tribes are now organised or federated under the control of city governments. This centralisation of power is embodied in an absolute sovereign whose commands are issued through subordinates. The artisan supplements and to some extent supplants the toil of the herdsman and farmer. National autocracy is distinguished from tribal barbarism by the invention of writing and the existence of a written literature. Primitive and barbaric literature is mimetic as well as oral, and therefore inferior to written literature in its influence upon material and social progress. Writing economises time by conserving the thoughts and efforts of bygone generations. Thus the diligent interpreter may avoid fruitless experiments and so find leisure to attempt new and higher adaptations of the known.

The fourth stage of social progress may be called national or representative Democracy. In autocracy the keynote is the greatest good of the few; in democracy the keynote is the greatest good of the greatest number. In democracy we find a true humanisation of society. It gives more and more freedom to the individual consistent with the welfare of the whole community, while at the same time it knits the individuals more closely because of their greater dependence upon each other. Superior specialisation develops individuality. Inventiveness is encouraged, and therefore progress is rapid. From the indus-

trial standpoint representative democracy is the age of machinery, and the real cause for which machinery has been invented is to make man himself less of a machine. It is thus that he is better enabled to cultivate the mind and live more in the spirit, a result which is largely revealed through the form and the content of literature.

In later chapters it will become more clear that in the ratio of their ability to direct natural laws for their own happiness, human societies prove less and less responsive to physical environment, primitive tribes reflecting environment most closely. In the same way in the course of the development of the social organism the personality of each unit has been acquiring greater prominence. Anthropology confirms those researches in ancient law which go to show that primitive tribes care little or nothing for individuals as such, but are absorbed in the interests of the social group. Tribes like those of Australia have group terms for family relationship, and certain ceremonial customs point to an older and broader collectivity. The primitive social unit seems to be the group and not the individual, while there are traces of group personality [17] even in some of the higher civilisations. Indeed the discrimination of individual rights and relations is one of the comparatively recent niceties of language. The three higher stages of social development reveal a growing freedom of the individual and a deepening sense of personality, which reaches its culmination in the democracy of the twentieth century.

To sum up, four stages of social development may be clearly discerned—Primitiveness, Barbarism, Autocracy and Democracy. The first has a comparatively small and generally feeble organisation, which is sometimes based upon real or fictitious kinship reckoned in

[17] Posnett, 130 ff.; Payne, ii. 200.

the female line.[18] Its members, like the lower animals, satisfy hunger by preying upon game or wild plants. The second has a bigger, stronger, and more varied organisation, which is usually based upon real or fictitious consanguinity reckoned in the male line. Its members, who belong to the upper stage of tribal society, train certain plants and animals, and thus largely eliminate the element of chance from the food supply. The connection between culture and agriculture is seen to be closer than many people fancy. As in the case of primitiveness the symbols of language and literature are oral and mimetic, though barbaric literature has usually much more poetic feeling. Thirdly, autocracy, which as a rule marks the transition from tribal to national government, has a strong organisation. Its greatest limitation consists in the presence of a servile class or a caste system. The symbols of its literature are graphic. Fourthly, democracy or humanism or enlightenment marks the transition from absolute monarchy to representative government. Its organisation rests upon the recognition of equal human rights to liberty and rational enjoyment. It may be conceived as the most advanced stage of a process in which difference continually increases, not at the expense of unity, but in such a way that the unity becomes more potent and more patent. This differentiation is reflected in the growth of individual freedom, which in turn will be seen to express itself through the various forms of literature.

Some anthropologists argue that as a rule the brains of the lowlier races are of less weight and the convolutions less complex[19] than those of the more ad-

[18] A. W. Howitt and L. Fison, "From Mother-right to Father-right," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, London, xii. 30 ff.; R. H. Mathews, "Marriage and Descent, etc.", *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1908, x. 88; id., "Sociology of the Chingalee," *Amer. Anthrop.*, x. 281.

[19] J. Symington, "Problems arising from Variations in the Development of Skull and Brains," *Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.*, Washington, 1904, 660; Deniker, 100, 102 ff.; L. Stieda, "Ueber die Bedeutung der Hirnwindungen," *Korr.-Bl. d. D. Ges. f. Anthr.*, Braunschweig, 1907, xxxviii. 137 (gray cortex alone is decisive).

vanced peoples. Mental traits are moulded by interaction with social and physical environment; but though man is largely the creature of social environment, he is also largely the modifier or creator of physical environment. Thus the development of mankind differs from that of lower organisms in being essentially intellectual, in being collective rather than individual, and in modifying rather than being modified by physical environment.

Now all this may in a sense be true enough, yet it does not follow that we have completely accounted for the four grades of social culture. It has been denied [20] that the primitive tribes of to-day have so lagged behind as to be nearer to the primeval state of humanity than those that are of higher culture. Let us therefore consider for a moment whether primitiveness is pathological or normal. Are the primitive tribes merely degenerate communities? Have they fallen from a higher grade of civilisation or have they always been nearest in culture to the primeval condition of mankind? Instead of being laggards on the highway of progress, have they lost the heritage of their ancestors through the inroads of vice or of warfare?

The traditions of many people seem to uphold the theory of degeneration. For the Golden Age [21] many of the ancient poets and philosophers looked backward, while not a few moderns do the same. There are moods when all men look back upon the sunny days of childhood, forgetful of the troubles that seemed real enough years and years ago. The Pharaohs of Egypt and the emperors of Rome were sprung from the gods, even as Rome and Britain used to be linked with the mighty Trojans. These and similar traditions all over the world are harmless enough, but as sources of

[20] Mitchell, 207, 216; E. de Pressensé, *A Study of Origins* (trans.), London, 1883, 471; F. B. Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, New York, 1900, 17ff.

[21] M. Nordau, *Degeneration* (trans.), 7th ed., New York, 1895, 536; R. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, New York, 1904, 90.

evidence they are scarcely convincing. They fail to prove that our progenitors were deities or even fairly civilised men. Such traditions are innocent, and perhaps helpful, forms of ancestor worship.

To those who advocate the theory of degeneration some chapters of history afford more promising material. The Arabised natives of modern Egypt are not to be compared with the proud Egyptians of antiquity. Chaldea and Babylon are but memories, and where are the aboriginal civilisations of Mexico and Peru? These and other instances indicate clearly that the advancement of civilisation is not universal and therefore not necessary. Where is the evidence, however, that any actual hunting tribe has fallen from barbarism or an even higher state of culture? Doubtless the Bushmen [22] or Kwai of South Africa are in a more wretched plight than their forefathers, yet they have always been hunters. They never reached the stage of zoöculture or agriculture, but they were at one time among the higher of the primitive or hunting tribes, whereas now they are among the lower.

On the other hand, while it cannot be denied that some tribes and nations have deteriorated, such cases do not seriously impair the theory of development. In the first place, history shows clearly that in spite of occasional reversions or lapses humanity as a whole has been steadily advancing. The individual is mortal, but the race is immortal. A nation may weaken or die, but the nations are gradually growing stronger in virtue and knowledge. Descents into one valley after another are but incidents on the route of progress upward. Undeniably the standard of morality is higher than ever and science is more and more making life worth living.

In the second place, the testimony of prehistoric anthropology or archæology is against the hypothesis

[22] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905, 213 ff.

of degeneration. The palæolithic man of Europe—the man of greatest known antiquity—is a primitive hunter whose extant works of art show that in some respects he was not unlike the Bushman or the Eskimo of modern times.

Thirdly, the evidence of psychology is mainly hostile to the degeneration hypothesis. There is no reason to suppose that the laws of nature, whether physical or psychical, were ever different from what they are at the present moment. If the reign of law has always been uniform, industrial arts must have had a beginning, the use of fire and the art of cooking must have been learned, and all these wonderful phenomena are witnessed among primitive tribes. If primeval man had a much higher culture than the hunting tribes, it is certainly remarkable that the survivals of this hypothetical culture should be practically the same all over the globe. Evidently enough, regress and progress are at work now as they always seem to have been; but the former is only secondary, while the latter is primary. Degeneration is but an incident[23] in the general progress of mankind.

It is not absolutely necessary to submit a full account of the literature of every primitive people in existence, for perfect induction is scarcely possible in any science. We may draw safe enough conclusions from typical examples of poetry and the allied art-forms, provided that these have been culled from all the more important hunting and fishing tribes of the old world and the new. We are not likely to be deceived if salient literary phenomena are recorded among tribes remote from each other. If literary specimens be arranged in connected order from primitiveness to representative democracy, we may gain a more vivid conception of

[23] Cf. J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, 5th ed., London, 1889, 487; E. Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art* (trans.), New York, 1897, 42 f.; J. S. Mackenzie, 413 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols., 4th ed., London, 1903, i. 32 ff., 48; Chamberlin and Salisbury, i. 513, 595f; Pitt-Rivers, p. xvi (Henry Balfour), 48.

the constant interplay of society and literature. In a general way the genetic order is indicated, thus affording a hint as to the manner in which humanity is unconsciously guided step by step along the ascending pathway of æsthetic culture.

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE LITERATURE OF AFRICA

In the second chapter and attempt has been made to prepare the way for an investigation of the relative beginnings of literature. The historic period is so comparatively recent that the evidence of history is manifestly inadequate. For the much longer prehistoric period archæology shows specimens of fine art that were produced thousands of years ago, but of literary art there is not a vestige. If we had ample knowledge of the oldest prehistoric musical instruments, we might have courage enough to try to form some conception of primeval music, and music is akin to poetry. Student's of language have endeavoured to resurrect the remote past. From a comparative study of words a few scholars have ventured to suggest that the earliest poetry of the Proto-Aryans was religious, with a metre dependent not upon accents but upon syllables. It has also been suggested that perhaps the earliest Aryan poetry consisted of metrical conundrums and magic songs. By reason of the nature of the testimony adduced, these interesting hypotheses must be dismissed.

Since the study of neither history, antiquities, nor language can uncover the first literary efforts of our forefathers, we are obliged to turn to ethnography. In this field of inquiry we do not expect to find primeval verse or prose, yet it is here alone that we may hope to see æsthetic activities which most nearly resemble those of our prehistoric ancestors. Of necessity the unwritten literature of existing primitive or

hunting tribes is not the same as that from which the written literature of high civilisation is sprung, but it is probably similar to that of our forefathers before they mastered the art of domesticating animals and plants. In other words, the literature of the hunters in structure and in spirit seems to be nearer to that of our prehistoric hunting ancestors than anything that exists outside of mere conjecture. The approximate truth of the foregoing statement will be confirmed by observation of the close and constant relationship that exists between social and literary evolution as well as between the industrial and the fine arts. Focussing our attention for the present upon that fine art which is called literature, let us begin a systematic study of its evolution with a consideration of the primitive literature of Africa.

1. Akkas

Leading a nomadic life several degrees north of the equator the Akkas haunt the forests that lie about midway across the African continent. They are certainly not a degenerate tribe. They are simply yellow-brown Negrilloes who rank among those that are supposed to be nearest[1] to the earliest known human types. Partly by reason of an adverse environment they have never risen above the hunting stage of culture. It is possible that these are the pygmies to whom allusions were made by Homer as well as by Juvenal and other classical writers[2] and possibly it is the memory of these little hunters that has been preserved on Egyptian tombs[3] for about five thousand years.

[1] G. A. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, 2 vols., New York, 1874, ii. 127; H. von Wissmann, *Meine Zweite Durchquerung Aequatorial Afrikas*, Frankfurt, 1890, 130; H. M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, 2 vols., New York, 1891, i. 374, 385; H. Schlichter, "Pygmy Tribes of Africa," *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, viii. 289; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, Berlin, 1894, 441; Keane, 238; Deniker, 454. In Gaelic mythology Eigir is king of the dwarfs.

[2] *Iliad*, iii. 3–6; *Satires*, xiii. 168; etc.

[3] W. Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, Leyden, 1883, ii. 159; C. Chaillé-Long, *Note sur les Pygmées de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1891, 521.

By courtesy of Wide World Mag. *Powell-Cotton.*

FULL-GROWN AKKA PYGMIES BESIDE AN ENGLISHMAN.

Some students of music are of the opinion that the musical scale, which varies in different parts of the globe, was at first in large measure determined by the nature of the musical instruments[4] that were invented. The fingers may have been the fates that decided the nature of man's earliest music. Whether there is any truth in this theory or not, this is not the time to discuss the question; but it may assist students of either musical or poetic evolution if a casual mention is made of those instruments which, among primitive and barbaric tribes, almost invariably assist in the execution of communal dance and song. The Akkas have at least two musical instruments[5] namely, a small drum or tom-tom, besides a horn carved from an elephant's tusk. They also tap their bows with arrows in order to keep the time of the dance.

a. Dances

The significance of the primitive communal dance lies in the fact that it seems to constitute the simplest extant form of what in other lands evolved into pantomime, the drama, and the opera. Dancing may express an emotion or tell a story. Narrative dances have been invented by man alone, but he shares emotional dances with the lower animals. Certain insects, birds, reptiles, and beasts perform rhythmic movements which may be regarded as rudimentary dances. Thus man is not alone in his tendency to express feeling in saltatory performances. In the crudest dance witnessed[6] among the Akkas several men gathered in a circle each with bow and arrow. When one began to

[4] Hermann Smith, *The World's Earliest Music*, London, N. D., 20 ff.; E. Gurney, *The Power of Sound*, London, 1880, 456; R. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, London, 1893, 156; C. H. H. Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, New York, 1896, 15.

[5] J. J. Harrison, "Among the Pigmies," *Wide World Mag.*, London, Feb. 1906, 387; *Ibid.*, March, 1906, 470; P. H. G. Powell-Cotton, "Sport and Adventure in Central Africa," *Wide World Mag.*, Nov. 1907, 56.

[6] G. Burrows, "On the Natives of the Upper Welle District of the Belgian Congo," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1899, xxviii. 40. Cf. Sir H. James, *Geog. Journ.*, xvii. 40.

beat an arrow against his bow, the others began to do the same rhythmically. At a given signal with heads erect they were seen marching round and round without gestures of any kind. During the songless dance there was not a smile or any other outward token of pleasure. To what extent this restraint was due to the presence of the white stranger can merely be surmised. It is the crude songless dance that leads to the pantomime of ancient Rome and of medieval Italy with its undying story of Harlequin and Columbine, besides the later and more elaborate pantomimic ballets of Italy and France.

In contrast to the foregoing dance of the Akka men there are others performed only by the women, though most frequently men, women, and children dance together. All have their heads shaved in fantastic patterns and bodies daubed with red and white clays. The men wear anklets and bracelets of hogs' bristles, besides other ornaments in the shape of dried seeds, berries, or nuts. Round the waist is a narrow cord which supports a bit of the skin of an okapi or some other beast. More elaborate are the ornaments [7] of the women. Leaves are thrust into the girdle, and round the neck are strings of beads and strange charms.

The agility of these pygmies [8] is astonishing, as they learn to dance almost before they can run. Seventy or eighty men, women, or children circled in

[7] Harrison, 387; Powell-Cotton, 57.

[8] Emin Bey, "Sur les Akkas, etc.," *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, 1886, 145; A. de Quatrefages, *Les Pygmées*, Paris, 1887, 253; G. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, London, 1901, 233ff. (European pygmies); Sir H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 2 vols., London, 1902, ii. 517 (suggests that trolls, elves, gnomes, and fairies of Europe arose from indistinct traditions of prehistoric dwarfs). Cf. Donald Monro, *Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, called Hybrides*, 1594 (reprinted in *Miscellanea Scotica*, Glasgow, 1818) ii. 143. "At the north poynt of Lewis there is a little ile, callit the Pigmies ile, with ane little kirk in it of ther awn handey wark. Within this kirk the ancients of that countrey of the Lewis says, that the said pigmies has been eirded thair. Maney men of divers countreys has delvit up dieplie the flure of the little kirke, and I myselve amanges the leave, and hes found in it, deepe under the erthe, certain baines and round heads of wonderful little quantity, allegit to be the baines of the said Pigmies, quhilk may be lykely."

and out, round and round, the tom-toms ever in the centre. Every foot rose and fell in unison, and every toss of the head or twist of the body was performed with military precision. Without a competent native interpreter the European onlooker [9] was unable to catch the meaning of this dance, though it seemed to represent a series of definite scenes.

Dancing is evidently the favourite form of enjoyment among the Akka dwarfs. Their mimetic [10] dances are varied and interesting. Every feature of daily life they can depict by means of choreographic art. Among others they have wedding and funeral dances, wrestling and war dances, fetish and monkey dances. In the hunting dances the pygmies give a vivid representation of the chase. First there is the search for game, then follow the discovery of its footprints, the mimicry of its habits, the trailing, the kill, and the communal feast as a climax. The average dog might lose all self-respect if he were to see the Akkas busy crunching bones or gnawing pieces of cooked hide. As in the hunts, men, women, and children take part in the hunting dances, which last hour after hour.

b. Songs

Unfortunately no travellers have yet been able to note down a single specimen of the Akka songs. There is mention [11] of the whole forest resounding with choral singing, but its character is not stated. On another occasion [12] the pygmies sang a weird droning melody for nearly an hour. So little is known concerning the customs of this tribe that it is impossible to tell whether or not they have myths or legends, although

[9] Harrison, 470. Cf. Schweinfurth, ii. 129.
[10] Harrison, 387, 389, 470; Powell-Cotton, 58; id., "A Journey through the Eastern Portion of the Congo State," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, Washington, 1908, xix. 161.
[11] Harrison, 470.
[12] *Ibid.*, 387. Cf. James, 40.

it is positively known [13] that they have some sort of religion based upon fear of the potency of nature, as revealed, for instance, in a thunderstorm.

2. Obongo

The Obongo of tropical West Africa are characterised as degenerates by one traveller,[14] but this is not the view of most ethnologists. They are simply a tribe of Negrilloes or light chocolate-brown pygmies who haunt the inland forests of the French Congo,[15] living in much the same way as their forefathers have done since the invention of the bow and arrow.

a. Dances

The Obongo use the tom-tom to beat time in their dances and songs. During the dances [16] they gesticulate freely, leaping high, kicking backward and forward, and all the while shaking the head. Emotional or acrobatic dances seem to make the strongest appeal.

b. Songs

Here as elsewhere the women are more emotional than the men. At times the women may be seen weeping bitterly as they croon plaintive songs. The quavering tones hold the listener like the droning of some incantation. When the men join with the women, their shrill voices do not produce an effect that satisfies European ears. The choruses so stir the feelings of the Obongo that soon the communal excitement is intense.[17]

No traditional songs have been heard among the members of this tribe. Travellers have had the pleas-

[13] Powell-Cotton, *W. W. M.*, Dec. 1907, 128.
[14] O. Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, Berlin, 1878, cap. vi.
[15] F. Ratzel, *History of Mankind* (trans.), 3 vols., London, 1896–8, ii. 301; P. du Chaillu, *Adventures in the Great Forest of Equatorial Africa*, New York, 1899, 442, 448.
[16] P. du Chaillu, *Country of the Dwarfs*, New York, 1872, 257.
[17] *Ibid.*, 250, 257.

ure of listening to impromptu songs [18] chanted about themselves. If impressed by any unusual event the tribesmen improvise a line or two, and these they repeat over and over. Here is a typical chorus:

"The white man is a good man;
He gives the Obongo salt."

This is analogous to the marching chants of the rubber-carriers [19] of the Belgian Congo. Triumphant and ceaseless rose the chant of the gatherers as they approached the government post, and these were the words:

"We are coming to the white man,
We are coming in with rubber;
We shall all be given presents."

In the memory are preserved the rhythm and melody; the words are merely for the moment.

From the standpoint of a high civilisation such verses do not constitute what we are accustomed to call poetry. It must be remembered, however, that even among the European nations it is not so long since the poetry of the people was ignored by admirers of poetry of the schools. It is only in recent years that folk-song has been deemed worthy of serious attention. If our own folk-song has its legitimate place in literary history, why exclude the folk-song of less cultured peoples? If we adopt a disdainful attitude toward the humbler literary efforts, how can we hope to enter the kingdom of truth? Things common are of as much interest to science as things uncommon and ideal.

Do not the Obongo lines express emotion in a rhythmic or crudely artistic fashion? They savour of the material, and yet there are glimmerings of the

[18] Lenz, 110 f.

[19] Powell-Cotton, *W. W. M.*, Jan. 1908, 236. Cf. W. A. Reed, "Negritos of Zambales," *Ethn. Survey Publ.*, Manila, 1904, ii. 51. Words are impromptu; the tune is traditional. "We are singing to the American to show him what we can do; perhaps if we sing well he will give us some rice or some cloth."

spiritual—the feeling of gratitude and some conception of human goodness. Intelligible words are in some measure transformed by the time and the pitch of music. It is in repetition of short phrases such as these that metre must have had its beginning, and the other qualities of what we call universal poetry arose with the slow growth of self-consciousness. Within the historic period the songs of our barbaric ancestors were apparently often inspired by nothing more exalted than feasting or fighting, and yet those dubious efforts were the forerunners of some of the most sublime poetry of modern times.

3. Kwai or Bushmen

The Kwai[20] or Bushmen dwell in and around the desert of Kalahari, a part of the eastern section of South Africa. By reason of the encroachments of the Boers and their negro neighbours, the social organisation and numbers of the yellow-skinned Kwai have deteriorated.[21] They are but the remnant of the real aboriginal stock of South Africa, without a system of land tenure or generally recognised chiefs,[22] yet they have apparently always been hunters.

In earlier and happier days the Kwai were great lovers of music, and they are still one of the most intelligent races in South Africa. Among the musical instruments[23] which are or were used may be men-

[20] R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, 53; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, New York, 1858, 48; John Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, Edinburgh, 1871, 138; G. A. Farini, *Huit Mois au Kalahari*, Paris, 1887, 87; Keane, 249; G. M. Theal, *Beginning of South African History*, London, 1902, 17 (sense of orientation); Stow, 31.

[21] M. Le Vaillant, *Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa* (trans.), Dublin, 1790, 495f.; Mackenzie, 510; Keane, 249; Stow, 33, 412.

[22] A. Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape, etc.*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1786, i. 201; Le Vaillant, 490, 496; H. B. Frere, "On Systems of Land Tenure," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1883, xii. 259.

[23] Le Vaillant, 333ff.; M. H. C. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* (trans.), 2 vols., London, 1812–15, ii. 379; W. T. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Afr.*, 2 vols., London, 1822–4, i. 66; J. W. D. Moodie, *Ten Years in So. Afr.*, 2 vols., London, 1835, ii. 225; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, Breslau, 1872, 327; B. Ankermann, "Afrikanischen Musikinstrumente," *Ethn., Notizbl. Kgl. Mus. f. Völkerkunde*, Berlin, 1901, iii. Pt. i. 77, 114; Stow, 102 ff.

tioned a double-stringed bow, a sort of banjo consisting of three catgut strings attached to a triangular piece of wood, a four-stringed bow or primitive harp, an undeveloped dulcimer in the shape of a series of bowstrings struck with a stick, and other stringed instruments called the kopo, the kangan, and the gora. There were also a kind of reed flute,[24] a log-drum and a water-drum.

a. Dances

The Kwai display not only musical but also terpsichorean talent. With them as with the ancient Greeks the dance is generally inseparable from music and verse. Their dances are of two classes, recreative and mimetic, and they may be performed by men alone, by women alone, or by both sexes. The recreative or gymnopædic dances are, of course, simpler than the mimetic or descriptive, but of each kind the Kwai have many.[25] Among the former may be mentioned the new and full moon dances, the dances for men and women respectively, a country dance in which men and women are ranged in two opposite lines, a chain dance executed by both sexes, the dance of the acrobats mainly by women, and a solo stationary dance by men. The mimetic dances are best exemplified by the surviving mysteries[26] of the Kwai. Among the mimetic dances are the Mokoma or dance of blood, the flute dance of the women, and the dance of the chief, all of which are erotic in character. Other dances mimic the sounds and movements linked with the bee, the frog, the baboon, or hunting in general.

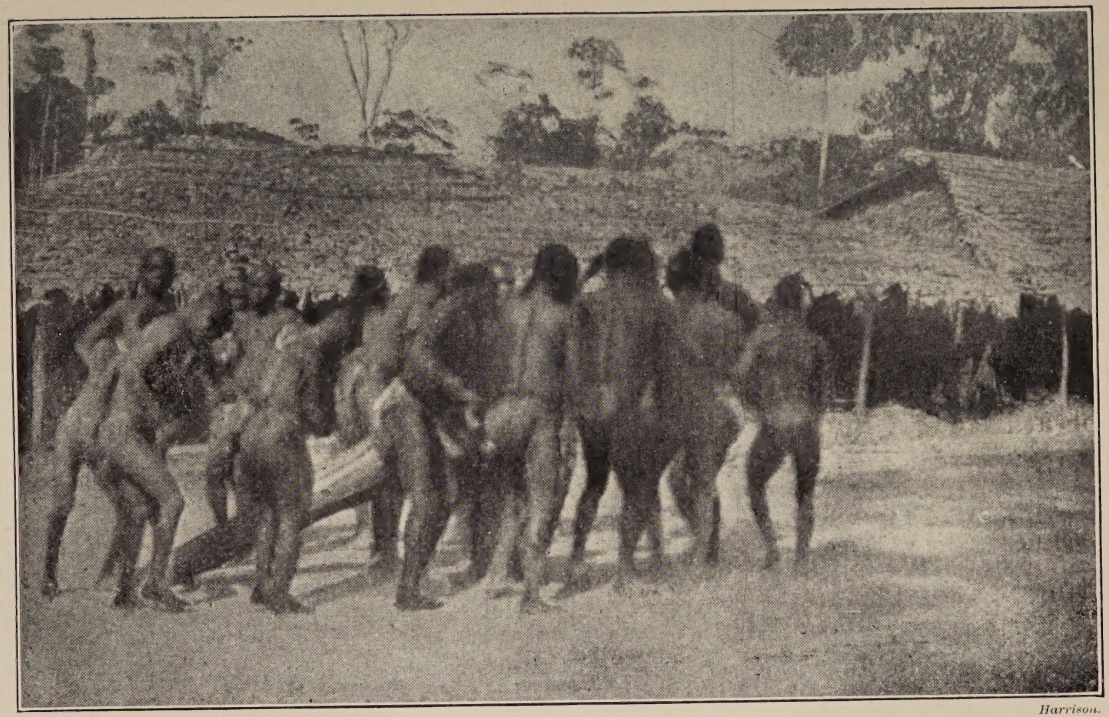
[24] In this connection the Greek Testament passages—*John* xii. 6, xiii. 29—are worthy of recall. Where the English version gives 'bag', the original literally signifies 'tongue-box' or 'reed-box'. Was Judas Iscariot a flute-player? Was it the musical ability of Judas that first attracted the founder of Christianity?

[25] Burchell, ii. 63; J. G. Wood, *Uncivilized Races of Men*, 2 vols., Hartford, 1871, i. 262; Stow, 111 ff.,

[26] A. C. Haddon, *Study of Man*, London, 1898, 289. The dances connected with these secret ceremonies are supposed to have been imparted by Cagn, the grasshopper or locust god.

The Mokoma is one of the quasi-dramatic performances that can be seen through the medium of aboriginal pictorial illustration.[27] Famine, or war, or illness has overtaken the camp, and it is therefore time for this ritualistic representation. Quiet is the evening, and the Kwai must pay honour to the locust god Cagn. A few wisps of ashen cloud drift out from where the sun has burned its way down into the heart of the forest, and figures are straggling toward the big ring where the ground is beaten flat and bare. Following each other in a circle, men and women in gala costume begin to dance, and all through the night the performers chant a ritual song. As night advances, the excitement increases, the movements are accelerated, and often the chorus is broken by the cries of the participants. Blood begins to stream from the noses of some, others shout and gesticulate like madmen, while others fall down in a state of exhaustion. When a man thus falls, the women place upon his back two reeds in the form of a cross, and this is followed by various ceremonies at the end of which the man rises to his feet. When dawn appears, the sacred performance in honour of Cagn ceases, and to those who have faith he brings the desire of the heart. On the other hand, those who transgress the limits of propriety are punished by the divine patron of the Mokoma, for it was he who instructed the forefathers of the Kwai.

[27] The rock paintings and petroglyphs of the Kwai show some good drawing and colouring. Some are almost worthless cartoons [cf. Catullus, xxxvii. 10 (symbolic drawing of a scorpion upon a tavern wall); Lucilius, *Ap. Non.*, 385; Demosth., 786.] roughly depicted in black paint, others represent incidents occurring among neighbouring tribes and among whites, but most of the drawings deal with fighting and hunting scenes. Some are of great age, others are comparatively recent. It is astonishing to learn that in several instances the artist exhibits a true appreciation of perspective and foreshortening. See *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1881, x. 6 (E. Holub); 1883, xii. 464 f. (M. Hutchinson); R. Andrée, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, N. F., Leipzig, 1889, 67; *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, x. 17 (Büttner); *Boll. d. Soc. Geog. Italiana*, April, 1890, (G. Weitzecher); Stow, 120 f.; O. Moszeik, "Die Malereien der Buschmänner in Süd-Afrika," *Intern. A. f. Ethnogr*, Leiden, 1906, xviii, 1ff. (parallels of Bushman art are to be sought in the efforts of prehistoric men and of modern children, and not in civilised Egypt and Japan); L. Peringuey, "On Rock Engravings, etc.," *Trans. South African Phil. Soc.*, Cape Town, 1906, xvi. 401.



Wide World Mag. *Harrison.*

DANCE OF THE AKKAS, WITH TOM-TOM IN THE CENTRE.

In many a dance both sexes paint their bodies [28] with red, white, and yellow spots. Some performers, however, preferred to paint the whole body red, while others daubed one half of the body with black and the other white. At great festivals the painting was done in more or less artistic designs. Before merciless wars of extermination broke up their social organisation, the more important men of the various tribes had distinctive emblems,[29] which are now known to students as totems. They comprised painted designs of creatures such as the python, the eland, the hippopotamus, and the ostrich.

These tribes not only practised body painting and tattooing,[30] but they were experts in the use of the nadro or disguise. In hunting, in warfare, in games of amusement, and in more serious exhibitions they often dressed in the guise of some actual or mythical animal. Even the women used to fasten to their own heads the head and horns of some beast, painting their own face and body and wrapping themselves in the hide of the beast. In the great animal masquerades [31] each merry mimic played the part of beast, bird, or reptile to perfection. In some of the performances there was a conductor or master of ceremonies, and at times he alone wore an animal mask. Perhaps the animal-headed deities [32] of Babylonia, Egypt and other lands had their origin in the disguises worn by hunting forefathers of a remote past. Tradition would tend to exaggerate the virtues of certain ancestral warriors, who were distinguished for their strategy and achievements. In time a certain disguise would become iden-

[28] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1872, i. 244 ff.; Stow, 45, 113.
[29] *Ibid.*, 32.
[30] R. Virchow, *Verhandl. d. Berl. Anthr. Gesell.*, 1886, 222.
[31] Fritsch, 425 f.; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika*, 2 vols., Wien, 1881, ii. 465, 469 f.; Stow, 82, 84, 97.
[32] Cf. A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, Leipzig, 1891, 28 (scorpion-men); E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, New York, 1896, 7 ff.; G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 4th ed., London, 1901, 119, 133, 539.

tified with each personality, and the merely natural become the supernatural.

b. Songs

It is likely enough that the Kwai can improvise crude ditties whose words suit traditional airs, but there is no record of such impromptu songs. Song and dance are practically inseparable. In spite of the centuries that lie behind, these hunters preserve the simplest possible lyric. It is a one-word poem—if it be permissible to use such a term—traditional and inarticulate.[33] Surely here we are not far from the genesis of unwritten poetry or folk-song. The dancer sings the word:

"Wawa-koo."

At the same time and in the same measure the communal chorus sing:

"Aye-o."

Each of these embryonic poems is sung again and again for hours. As they sing the choral lay, the audience separate the hands at the first syllable, bringing them sharply together at the second vowel sound.

In former days each dance had its own tune of five or six notes, the accompanying words being frequently meaningless. In one dance-song the performing soloist keeps on repeating—

"Lok a tay."

This trisyllabic effort keeps the same measure as the chant of the spectators—

"Aye-o."

[33] Burchell, ii. 66; Wood, i. 263. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903, ii. 7 ("beginnings of liturgical drama lie beyond the very borders of articulate speech"); W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, New York, 1904, 219 (the *sequentia* "was a tune before it was a poem"); J. S. Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages*, Chicago, 1907, 176 (carols without words or wordless *sequentiae*).

In each of the foregoing dance melodies the solo has three syllables and the chorus only two. In each case the first syllable of the solo is sung at the same moment as the last syllable of the chorus. The full refrain is chanted thus:

"Aye-o, aye-o, aye-o, aye-eh, aye-o, O! O!"

A third specimen [34] of Kwai verse may be taken from one of their games known as Bushman cards, though it is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood changes it from hand to hand, and finally asks one of his comrades to guess in which hand it is concealed. If his guess is wrong, the player sings two or three words which seem to mean:

"You eat the dog,
I eat the beef."

If the guess is correct, the formula chanted is:

"I eat the dog,
You eat the beef."

The fourth specimen [35] of Kwai verse is what may be termed a primitive heroic poem, a sort of incipient epic. It concerns some mighty hunter and warrior of bygone days. These are the words as translated:

"Raselepe bounded like a kid;
He bounded like the kid of an antelope."

Notice the parallelism, which casually appears in all early literature, Aryan and Anaryan.

c. Mythic Tales

Aboriginal narrative may be exemplified by a formula employed in praying to the god Cagn or Kaang. These are the words: [36]

[34] Stow, 100 f.
[35] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration*, Paris, 1852, 249.
[36] Stow, 133 f.

"Kaang! is it thou dost not care for me?
Kaang! lead me to a male gnu.
I like much to have my stomach filled;
My eldest son, my eldest daughter, like to have their stomachs filled.
Kaang! bring me a male gnu under my arrows."

Another prayer [37] runs thus:

"O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children?
Do you not see our hunger? Give us food!"

Kwai prose is best illustrated by the mythic tales, which belong to two chief classes—cosmic and animal sagas. Underlying these are beginnings of scientific speculation, beginnings of ethical philosophy, beginnings of that mythic arch through which men pass to the ultimate dignity of true epic.

This is how one group of the Kwai explain the origin of the sun.[38] "Long long ago Sun was a man. Light came from one of his armpits. Over the earth there was only a very dim light. Why? Because the light shone only near the place where Sun was sleeping. There were two old women of an ancient race—a people before the Kwai. The two old women sent some children to lift up Sun unawares. The children threw Sun into the sky. There he became round. There he remained. Earth now has light and heat. This is why."

Here follows the story of how the moon came into existence. "There is a being who is both locust and man. He did not like the darkness. Up into the sky he cast one of his shoes. He ordered the shoe to make light for him. The shoe became the moon."

The Kwai version of the origin of the Milky Way [39] runs thus: "Once there lived a maiden of a people long ago. From them came the Kwai. She wished to

[37] Stow, 134.
[38] *Ibid.*, 19. For another account of aboriginal solar mythology see L. Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, Philadelphia, 1909, 118.
[39] Cf. W. J. Wintemberg, "Myths and Fancies of the Milky Way," *Journ. Roy. Astron. Soc. Can.*, Toronto, 1908, 235 (Oceanic, Asiatic, and other data).

make light; then the folk could find their way home. What did she do? Up into the sky she threw white-hot wood-ashes. These sparks are the stars—the belt of stars."

Concerning the time when every animal could speak there are two myths,[40] one of which may suffice. "In the beginning of time the Kwai could speak. All the animals had manlike qualities. At that time there lived a bad-tempered being. His name was Hochigan. When any creature came near, he quarrelled with it. One day he was absent. He went—where he went no one knew. He was not forgotten. Why? He left a reminder of his hateful nature. The very moment he was gone—that moment all the animals stole away from the haunts of men. The Kwai alone preserved the power to speak. They alone retained their former qualities."

These South African hunters have handed down orally from generation to generation a cycle of locust stories. Like one of the great Hebrews mentioned in the Greek Testament, the Kwai are fond of locusts and wild honey. The periodic visits of the vast swarms of locusts are hailed with pleasure. The locust is a staple article of food, and the locust-god[41] Cagn figures conspicuously in the Kwai mythology.

The story of the locust and the baboons will serve to illustrate the series. It is a myth that seeks to explain one of the animal dances which used to be performed by men who had been initiated[42] into the Kwai mysteries. Possibly the dance was at one time linked with a festival in honour of Cagn and his son.

"Cagn sent Cogaz to cut sticks to make bows. Cogaz came to the forest. The baboons caught him. They called all the other baboons to hear him. Said

[40] Stow, 120 f.

[41] Ra, the Egyptian solar divinity, might assume the form of a grasshopper, because his path in the sky was like that of a cloud of African locusts. See Maspero, 103.

[42] Haddon, 289; Stow, 117; Frobenius, 128 f.

they, 'Who sent you here?' Said he, 'My father. He sent me to cut sticks to make bows.' Said they, 'Your father thinks he is cleverer than we are. He wants these bows to kill us. We'll kill you.' Cogaz they killed. They tied him up in the top of a tree. Round the tree they danced. They joined in a chorus (the words imitative of baboon cries). This was the refrain—'Cagn thinks he is clever.' Cagn was asleep when Cogaz died. He awoke. He bade Coti give him his talismans. Some he put on his nose. He drew near the baboons. They saw him. They changed the song. They missed out the words about Cagn. Said a little baboon girl, 'Don't sing that way; sing the way you were [43] singing before.' Said Cagn, 'Sing as the little girl wishes.' They sang and danced as before. Said Cagn, 'That is the song I heard; keep on dancing till I come back.' He left. He fetched a bag full of pegs. Behind each baboon he went as they danced. There was a cloud of dust. He drove a peg into the back of each baboon. Into the mountains he sent them to live on roots, beetles, and scorpions. Thus he punished them. Before that time baboons were men. Since that time they have tails. Cagn took Cogaz down. He made him alive."

Both the cosmic and the divine myths of the Kwai are not unlike those of the Australian and Eskimo tribes, and they more or less resemble certain Egyptian, Hellenic and other myths that survived from the prehistoric days of primitive ancestors. An apt illustration may be found in another [44] of the Mantis or Locust stories.

"The insect-god Cagn has an adopted daughter. She is the child of Kwai Hemm, the all-devourer. Cagn induces his adopted daughter to bring Kwai

[43] A charming example of the artlessness of childhood everywhere. The primitive hunters are not altogether ignorant of empirical psychology.

[44] A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, New York, 1885, 53 (cited from Bleek's *Bushman Folklore*, 6–8). The tale is paralleled by Hesiod in his account of Kronos.

Bushman disguised as Ostrich. *Stow.*

ABORIGINAL ROCK-PAINTING OF KWAILAND.

Hemm to his aid. Kwai Hemm is slain by strategy. Then from his body troop forth all the animals which he had devoured."

In former days the Kwai were in the habit of lopping off the first joint of the little finger. The custom was based upon the following myth,[45] though its original significance is unknown. "There is a place somewhere on the banks of the Gariep. The place is called Tooga. All people go there when they die. Do you wish a safe journey? Cut off the first joint of the little finger of one hand. Thus you arrive without difficulty. You shall be feasted with locusts and honey. O! you do not care to cut off the joint? Then you shall travel there upon your head. You shall pass through many a trial. When you reach Tooga, flies, nothing but flies shall you live upon."

[45] Stow, 129.

CHAPTER IV

PRIMITIVE LITERATURE OF OCEANIA

Australian Tribes

A VOLUME rather than a chapter might readily be devoted to an exposition of the dramatic, lyric, and legendary elements of Australian tribal life, for no two of the many tribes have precisely the same modes of expressing thought. The importance of geographical environment is impressed upon those who care to study the customs and the general culture of these hunters. In no true sense can they be described as degenerates, but their social evolution has been retarded through lack of cereals and suitable animals. Could Europe, Asia, or America have risen to social eminence, if with a parched inland soil she had to rely mainly upon the emu and the kangaroo?

The indigenes of Australia have a dark chocolate-brown skin, are above the average height of mankind, and form a distinct though not a homogeneous ethnic group. The languages [1] are in the agglutinative stage of development. Occasional words are so nearly alike in pronunciation that it is almost impossible for the average white man to detect the difference. Often the voice is reinforced by signs, and gesture language is the chief mode of communication between some tribes. While the men hunt, the women gather wild fruits and

[1] A. Mackenzie, "Specimens of Native Australian Languages," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1874, iii. 247 ff.; J. Fraser, *An Australian Language*, Sydney, 1892; R. H. Mathews, "Aboriginal Languages of Victoria," *Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xxxvi. 76; "Languages of the Kamilaroi, etc.," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1903, xxxiii. 259; "Wiradyuri and other Languages of New South Wales," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1904, xxxiv. 248. Cf. Sidney H. Ray, *Linguistics*, Cambridge, 1907 (vol. iii of "Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits").

dig up edible roots. The hunting territory is considered to be the common property of the tribe, and no others may seek game therein.

Tribes may be divided into clans, each of which has its totem. This is generally some species of animal or vegetable which the clan members regard as progenitor and protector of the clan. The clan is made up of persons who believe that they are blood-relations, whereas a phratry is a group of clans whose members may intermarry. For instance, the social organisation of the Wiradyuri comprises two phratries,[2] each of which has a group of totems. Every man, woman, and child has his or her particular totem, which is inherited from birth. The custom of taboo is prevalent by which the use of certain animate or inanimate objects is forbidden. Nearly always the totem is tabooed. Marriage customs[3] are too intricate to discuss here. There are no permanent chiefs[4] but merely occasional councils of the elders. Should there chance to be an elective chief of a tribe, his power is transient.

Rhythm is more important to the Australian aborigines than melody, hence the commonest musical instrument is one that may serve for beating time. It is true that the drum, the seven-shelled rattle, the bamboo nose-flute, and a singing trumpet have been observed, but with the exception of the last, they are suspected to be of Papuan origin. Upon festive occasions the women of Victoria improvise a drum by stretching a cloak of opossum-skin on the knees. The opossum skin is tapped with a stick. In Northern Queensland the singer plays his own accompaniment by

[2] Cf. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv. 294.

[3] Cf. L. Fison, "Australian Marriage Laws," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, ix. 354; C. S. Wake, "Nature and Origin of Group-Marriage," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xiii. 151; A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv. 353 (avoidance of mother-in-law); C. N. Starcke, *Primitive Family in its Origin and Development*, New York, 1889, 20, 240; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London, 1891, 290 ff.; Mathews, *Marriage and Descent*, 88 ff.

[4] A. W. Howitt and L. Fison, "On the Deme and the Horde," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv. 142 (comparison of the social structure of Attic and Australian communities).

beating a boomerang against a club. The accompaniments to the West Australian songs are the boomerang, the throwing-stick, hand-clapping, beating the ground with the club, or a tightly-folded kangaroo-skin rug beaten by the closed fists of the women. It is not difficult to believe that music evolved from such humble instruments [5] has not much to recommend it to European ears, though to the natives themselves such music represents high art.

a. Dances

As an art-form the dance of higher civilisation has sunk to a mere social diversion, scorned except by the children in their games, the youthful in the ballroom, or the spectators of a ballet troupe. It is difficult to realise that the dance is probably the oldest of all the arts as it is the earliest in the history of each human being. As the child seeks to express his feelings by clapping the hands and swaying the body before he can voice the articulate word, so the entire social life of primitive man centres round the dance. Like the rural dances of higher civilisation and the first dancing movements of the little child, the rhythmic steps and leaps of unsophisticated man are the instinctive expression of natural feeling.

Dances may be classified as either emotional or narrative, recreative or mimetic. The recreative dances, which are for personal pleasure alone, seem to be the older as they are the more spontaneous. The mimetic dances seek to give measured imitations of animal or human or divine movements, and to this

[5] Cf. J. L. Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, 2 vols., London, 1846, i. 394; T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1859–72, vi. 752 (G. Gerland); R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, 2 vols., London, 1878, i. 167; C. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals* (trans.), New York, 1889, 157; R. Etheridge, "An Australian Aboriginal Instrument," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii. 320; B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899, 604; H. Balfour, "Three Bambu Trumpets, etc.," *Man*, London, 1901, No. 28; D. M. Bates, "A Southern Corroboree," *Western Mail*, Perth, W. A., Dec. 25, 1907, 63.

group belongs pantomime, whose language touches and teaches every one. Pantomime is apparently the mother of the drama and the tutor of painting [6] and sculpture.

Dancing marks the more notable events of life in the Australian bush. Meetings with friendly tribes, initiation [7] and totemic ceremonies, the ripening of wild fruit, the successful hunt or fight are occasions for various dances. Some are for women alone, others for men. In all parts of the continent the great festal dances are generally seen at the corroboree,[8] which is at times a ratification of the treaty of peace between two tribes whose feud has ceased.

What follows is a curtailed account of a recent corroboree [9] witnessed in the southern part of West Australia. Out in the lonely bush blinks a big bonfire whose smoke-wreaths seek the face of the moon. The ground is arranged in a broken circle, one half of which is the stage, the other half forming the auditorium. Through the centre of the circle runs a path, whose ends are lost in the shadow of the shrubbery, which constitutes the men's dressing-rooms. Here are the men adorning themselves with headdresses of cockatoo feathers, while emu-feather tufts serve as a caudal appendage. Grease is being rubbed over face and body, so as to retain the streaks of white clay, yellow ochre, and red ochre. Birds'-down and fur as

[6] For details of Australian rock paintings and carvings see *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, ix. 31; xiii. 288; xxiii. 42; xxvii. 532; Spencer and Gillen, 614; id., *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1904, 696 ff. The aborigines have a good sense of colour, but the most remarkable feature of their rock drawings is that very often they are not imitations of natural objects.

[7] Cf. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, ii. 269; xiii. 127, 432; xiv. 301, 357; xxiv. 411; xxv. 298, 318; xxvi. 272; *Journ. Roy. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xxxi. 111; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 212 ff.; *Northern Tribes*, 328 ff.

[8] G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, 2 vols., London, 1847, i. 102; *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xiii. 290; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, 4 vols., Melbourne, 1887, iii. 167; Lumholtz, 204. Corroboree is a name borrowed from New South Wales, but now applied by the colonists to a native dance anywhere.

[9] Bates, 63. Cf. J. H. Heaton, "Aborigines of Australia," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, series 2, London, xiv. 92.

well as other articles contribute to the evening dress of the performers, but not one of these ornaments may be touched by women or children.

On this occasion two boomerangs are the only musical instruments. The director is also the orchestra, and he is already standing at the western entrance to the ring not far from the semicircle of seated women. Suddenly the director grasps the boomerangs in the middle, and striking the ends against each other in rapid succession, is ready to accompany his own song and also to regulate the cadence of the dances. He now begins to sing [10] slowly at first, but livelier after one or two bars. At the sound of the first bar the performers file into the light, dancing with the odd high-knee action characteristic of native dances. The leading man steps slowly round the semicircle, moving his body slightly to right and left, those behind him imitating his movements exactly. Every second beat of their feet upon the earth is given more strongly, and in staccato style they utter the following sounds ee-ee-ee-ee. Forming a semicircle round the firelight, their feet cease to move, and bending slightly toward the east they utter a prolonged e-e-e-e. Then in equally prolonged tones they cry out aouw. As the long cadenced vowels cease, a figure springs from the western darkness, and for a moment stands in the light quiveringly erect, holding aloft a spider-webbed thyrsus. Uttering not a sound, the figure stands quivering in dramatic manner. Again the prolonged notes are sounded by the performers. Meanwhile the measure of the song slowly increases, and now the woordoo or silent figure takes the lead. The high-stepping movement recommences, the swaying movements of the leader being imitated by his followers.

[10] The text has no meaning at the present day. The words are:

"Wannaree' gai malla naa'
Booyn goodha wanningoo'."—(Bates, 63).

Rome.

AUSTRALIAN TRIBESMEN PAINTED AND ADORNED FOR THE CORROBOREE.

With intervals of rest act after act of this entertainment takes place, increasing in complexity and interest. The rhythmic sound of the feet beating the soft earth, the graceful poses assumed by the actors, the sinuous bodies glistening in the firelight, the never-ceasing play of bright black eyes, the swarthy forms with their skeleton-like markings, constitute a scene of weird charm. To the sympathetic Caucasian listener even the song is not monotonous. The limited libretto is dignified by action and cadence unknown to people of higher culture.

In many parts of Australia may be witnessed mystery plays.[11] The south-eastern tribes attempt to personate the All-Father, who is without beginning or end of days, whereas the central try to play the part of their mythic ancestors. In their brief dramatic rites the south-eastern tribes exhibit the legendary adventures of the All-Father when his home was on earth. The central mystery plays are more impressive and thorough in such matters as staging, costuming, and general management. It is by frequent representations of these dramatic rites that the central tribes keep alive the numerous legends of their mythic progenitors. As in so many cases all over the world the natives have traditional ceremonies whose original significance is lost. The elders, however, have a ready explanation: "Our remote ancestors performed these feats. Let us honour them with a rehearsal."

b. Songs

There is scarcely any business in the blackfellow's life of which music[12] does not form a part. Some of

[11] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 387 ff.; *Northern Tribes*, 177 ff.; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London, 1904, 133, 488. Cf. Posnett, 102.

[12] J. Forrest, "On the Natives of Central and Western Australia," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, iv. 320; A. W. Howitt, "Notes on Songs and Song-makers of some Australian Tribes," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 328; G. W. Torrance, "Music of the Australian Aboriginals," *J. A. I.*, xvi. 335; Bates, 63.

the melodies are a kind of nasal monotone or chant, while others are marked by sudden and frequent inflections of the voice, minor intervals predominating. Some tunes show a curious gliding of one note into another, suggestive of the slow tuning of a violin string. To the Caucasian stranger there seems but little melody in the aboriginal chants, yet in the course of time even he has been known to succumb to the potent spell of some of their solos and choruses.

Many songs are extemporaneous. Passing events are often celebrated in a humorous manner that arouses the laughter of an audience. Parodies [13] of everyday scenes are worked up into pantomimic songs, which may represent good-natured fun or biting sarcasm. If a song becomes very popular, it may travel from tribe to tribe until the words are totally unintelligible to the singers. Some of the bards profess to obtain new songs from ghostland, while others compose under natural conditions. The melody is probably the chief attraction in many of the dream songs.

Here is an eastern sea-song [14] which was sung by its composer, who accompanied himself with two short sticks. The literal translation is:

> "Capsizing me, striking me
> Wind blows hard, sea long-stretched
> Between striking, hard-hitting, striking
> Me, dashing up, me striking."

Freely translated it runs thus: "Between the hard-blowing wind and the dashing waves of the long-stretched sea my canoe was almost capsized."

The following pantomimic song [15] describes its composer's attempt to cross the Snowy River in a leaky canoe. The gestural accompaniment is much more complete than the words. In sign language are por-

[13] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *J. A. I.*, xiii. 289; Howitt, *J. A. I.*, 332.
[14] Howitt, *J. A. I.*, 331.
[15] *Ibid.*, 332. Cf. *J. A. I.*, xxxv. 56 (Australian canoes).

trayed the launch of the canoe, the paddling into the current, the gaining of the leak, the ineffectual bailing, the calking with adhesive mud, the relaunching and paddling across. The words are:

"Quickly—talking
Mate his (to).
Looking about—now—
Paddling this side (to)."

The songs of initiation [16] are traditional, and not a few have a text that is now unintelligible. At one stage of the initiation ceremonies the men of certain tribes sing a fire song [17] which may be translated thus:

"Flower that is red——
Gum-tree twig——
Blazing up——
Fire rushing along (in dry grass)."

Incantations are known to be popular among tribes in various parts of the continent. In some sections magic love-songs [18] as a rule are sung by men, who in a low voice chant amorous phrases throughout the night. The following song, accompanied by significant gestures, is said to have stirred the emotions of the hearers.[19] It is supposed to be chanted by a woman, whose husband has forsaken her for another. The third stanza is the reply of the new wife. In spirit the lines suggest the flouting verses of medieval Europe.

Why did you come, Weerang,
When I was pretty,
Stealing cautiously
Like the tawny dingo
On a bride unwilling?
'Twas thus you stole me

[16] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 238 f., 243, 244, 360.
[17] *Ibid.*, 238 f.
[18] *Ibid.*, 541. Cf. Reed, 51 (love-song of the Negrito pygmies of the Philippines is called *du-nu-ra*. These people have but two melodies, to one of which amorous words are chanted).
[19] A. F. Chamberlain, "Primitive Woman as Poet," *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, 1903, xvi. 205 ff.

From one who was wooing tenderly——
A better man he was than you,
Who, forcing me to be your bride,
Now so oft desert my side.
Yang, yang, yang, yoh!

Oh! where is he who won
My youthful heart,
Who often used to pet
And call me loved one?
You, Weerang, snatched
From a lover's caress
Her whom you now forsake.
Curses on you, fickle one!
Oh! may the Boyl-las bite and tear
Her whom you take your couch to share.
Yang, yang, yang, yoh!

O lying sly one!
Wag away your dirty tongue!
I have watched your tell-tale eyes;
I've seen young braves nod and wink
Oftener perhaps than you may think.

These tribes do not believe in natural death. When a man dies, his death is due to the magic influence of an enemy, and this culprit must be discovered and punished. Both the avenger and the medicine-man wear special shoes decorated with lines of pink and white down. While they are being attached to foot and legs with human-hair string, the avenger sings a simple incantation whose literal translation [20] is:

"Shoes to me hold fast,
Shoes hold fast."

Here is a specimen of an eastern [21] magic song. It was composed and sung by a man who was supposed to have killed a bear whose spirit took up its abode within the man. He therefore chanted its song:

"There—now—cut across
Track—blood—*murnein*
Hurt—myself
Chipped tomahawk (with)."

[20] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 480.
[21] Howitt, *J. A. I.*, 332 f.

A free translation is: "You cut across my track, you spilled my blood, and broke your tomahawk on me."

As in other lands the mothers croon lullabies to hush their babes to rest. This is an eastern specimen[22]:

"Wa! Wa! Wa!
(Stop! Stop! Stop!)
Lelandu mri ngu
(Sleep eye thine)."

The children have songs as well as their elders. When the little ones of an eastern tribe saw the new moon, they sang the following chorus[23] in the belief that it would increase their strength and stature:

"Grow! Grow! Grow!
Nursing—boughs—father mine.
Wearing—woman's kilt—mother mine."

In some parts of Queensland the old women usually wail forth the laments for the dead. In the silence of the night they have been heard to repeat for hours the same simple strophe[24]:

"Where is my brother's son,
(Wainta, bemo, bemo,)
The only one I had?
(Yongool naiko?)"

c. Mythic Tales

Many of the tribes in various parts of the continent possess myths which seek to account for the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars,[25] and other natural phenomena. Among the Central Australian tribes the story of the origin of the sky is one of a series of legendary traditions that deal with the Mura-muras,[26] who are

[22] Howitt, *J. A. I.*, 334.
[23] *Ibid.*, 335.
[24] Lumholtz, 204. Cf. *J. A. I.*, xiii. 135.
[25] Cf. *J. A. I.*, ii. 273; iii. 260; xiii. 293; xiv. 87; xxviii. 22; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 561 ff.; *Northern Tribes*, 623 ff.
[26] A. W. Howitt and O. Siebert, "Legends of the Dieri and Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *J. A. I.*, xxxiv. 100. Among the Arunta and other tribes, the name Alcheringa is applied to the days of yore, the dream times, when their mythic ancestors lived. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, 745.

represented as a supernatural race that preceded the present inhabitants of Australia. Their men, women, and children resembled the present race in person, mind, and habit, but all were endowed with magical potency. One set of legends favour the hypothesis that the present race of mankind came from imperfectly formed beings who were completed by the Mura-muras, while other legends assert that men arose through the transformation of imperfectly formed *madus* or totemic animals.

The *Malku-malku-ulu* are two Mura-muras who still live and are seldom visible. Unseen they wander about in order to aid the unhappy. They care for children who are lost in the bush, and they carry the little ones back to the camp. It was they who made the sky,[27] and this is how they did it. In their wanderings they killed a kangaroo. They skinned it. With pegs they fastened the edges of the pelt to the ground and raised up the middle. Thus they formed the sky. When this was done they were pleased and said, "Now from this time people can walk upright. They need not hide themselves for fear of the sky falling."

Members of the Kaitish tribe believe that away off in the east the sun[28] arose in the form of a woman. She then travelled to a place called Allumba, where a big tree sprang up to mark the spot. After a time the sun woman went back again to the east. Now she gets up every morning in the east, goes round to the west down there, and during the night she travels back under the earth. No one must hurt the tree at Allumba. Every one would be burned up. The tree is rigidly tabooed. If you were to kill and eat an opossum from this tree, the food would kindle a fire within you. You would die.

[27] Howitt and Siebert, 106 ff. Cf. Maspero, 128 (Egyptian); Frobenius, 382 (African and Oceanic).
[28] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, 624.

Just as the sun is a woman, so the moon is of the male sex. There are various moon myths, of which this [29] is an illustration. Before there was any moon in the sky, a man of the opossum totem died. Not long afterward he rose from his grave in the form of a boy. His kinsmen saw him rising. They were afraid and ran off. He pursued them shouting, "Do not fear. Run not away or you shall die. I will die but will rise again in the sky." He grew up to be a man and died. He appeared again as the moon. Ever since he dies and lives again. The people who ran off also died. They are still dead. When you cannot see the moon man, he is far away in the west with his two wives.

This myth about the Pleiades [30] comes from New South Wales. It is taken down word for word. "The moon came. The moon was enamoured—came to the Mullymoola maidens. They were catching kaioong (a kind of small fish), were roasting with hot stones piaming (bulbous swamp reed) and kaioong at Poolinjerunga near Kan. They went to Jindoula. The Southron heard them. Where are they singing about me? I hear them singing about me in the gully; let me have pipe-clay to corroboree; sing that song; let me dance. I'll spear you in the eye. They go under the ground—they went up to the sky; the sisters became stone."

As an explanation of the origin of man [31] the following legend from Central Australia is typical: "Paralina was a Mura-mura. He was hunting kangaroos. While following one he saw four incomplete beings cowering together. He passed them by and pursued the kangaroo. He observed two Mura-mura women. They had already killed the kangaroo and concealed it with seeds. They denied having killed it,

[29] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 564.
[30] Mackenzie, *J. A. I.*, 260.
[31] Howitt and Siebert, 102f.

so Paralina thought of a trick. He unravelled his body-string into a long long cord. At the end of it he fastened an ant which at once smelled out the meat. Clearing away the ant and its comrades he slung the kangaroo across his shoulders. Back he went to where he had seen the cowering beings. He began to smooth their bodies. He stretched out their limbs. He slit up their fingers and toes. He formed the mouth, nose, eyes. He stuck ears on them. He perforated the body through the mouth. He thus produced mankind out of those beings. Everywhere he went about making men."

Here is a south-eastern tradition [32] of the way in which fire was procured. "Water-rat (Keerambin) and Codfish (Pandawinda) alone possessed fire. In a bare spot among the reed-beds of the Murray River they guarded it. Many efforts were made by the Bookoomuri [33] and by the present race to secure a spark. In vain. Hawk (Karigari) saw Water-rat and Codfish cooking mussels by the river. Hawk was in those days a Bookoomuri. He flew up so high that they could not see him. He caused a strong wind to blow fire among the reeds. They put fire out. At last he sent a whirlwind. This scattered fire everywhere—the reed-beds and the forests flaming. In those places no trees have grown since."

The next two traditions are literal translations, as far as possible representing the elliptic dramatic style of the aboriginal narrator. This [34] is how Pheasant and Eel went to Didthul. Men were playing. Eel starts out of a hole. They ran down to spear him. Went all the way to Pundutba. Thence to Pulinjera. Thence all the way to Moruya, found the deep water. Then all the men and women went along the bank, all the way to Biriry and Yirikul. News went over then

[32] Cameron, 368.
[33] Howitt's Mura-muras.
[34] Mackenzie, *J. A. I.*, 260 f.

to Mirroo, where the two Jea (Fishing-hawk). Then those two went thence up to the sky. Then those two saw the fish; then those two struck the spear into him. Then went into the water, then up the beach, fetched out Eel. Men and women were glad, took Eel then and roasted him. They slept, Eel was burning. Pheasant came and put him in the jukulu (bark food-vessel), took Eel out of the fire and carried him away to Didthul. The men and women got up. "Where's that fish belonging to that Pheasant?" They fought for this fish. Pheasant cut off Eel's head and stuck it up; then called it Didthul.

In some tribes the totemic ancestors [35] are regarded as supernatural men, in others they first appear as incomplete beings, while in others there is simply one great ancestor, half human, half beast or plant, who wanders about the land leaving spirit children who emanate from his body. Some spirits reside in trees. This [36] tells about the Spirit of the Fig-tree. "I am going for wild figs." "Very well, go on, start away." Net, bangaly basket. He picked the figs, filled net and basket. Cut more bangaly for baskets and filled them with figs. The spirit comes, catches him, swallows him. Takes him to the water, drinks, spits him out again. Looks back, tickles him, looks at him; comes back and tickles him again. Goes away, comes back and tickles him again. Goes a long long way to the mountains. He gets up, runs to the sea, and jumps in; the spirit very nearly catches him. He goes into the sea; the spirit walks along the beach. He got upon an island; the spirit went to the rocks. The man shouted "Come here!" Shouted again. They fetch spears, walk round him. "The spirit is this way." The man got into a canoe. The spirit could not be found; he went into the rocks, he got into the hole.

[35] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, 161 f.
[36] Mackenzie, *J. A. I.*, 250 f.

Many a tradition is told of rainmaking, of ceremonies to increase the food supply, and of the totemic ancestors of the blackfellows, but this[27] must be the last recorded here. This legend may be called The Swamp Lilies. It is not coarse, like some of the Australian traditions; it is simply grim. Two Warramunga blackfellows caught a wallaby at Palpani, and carried it on with them. Later that day they met a woman with her babe. They slew both. They took the bodies to the creek (Wycliffe). Said one to the other, "I think that you and I will eat the wallaby first." They were cooking it in the ground. From its body arose the swamp lilies. After eating the wallaby they carried away the woman and child. They were looking for a good cooking place. They tried several spots—too rocky. At Atjilpalunga they cooked and ate the child. They went back on their trail. They came to a good place for cooking. They made a fire in a hole. They put the body in, covered it up, then lay down on each side of the mound. They slept. When they awoke they said, "We will dig the woman out and eat her." They could not find the body. She had gone down into the ground. They dug down and down. They never came up again.

[27] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, 441.

Courtesy of Macmillan Co.

Spencer and Gillen.

A Scene in the Sacred Dance Drama of Australia.

CHAPTER V

PRIMITIVE LITERATURE OF ASIA

1. Andamanese

In the Bay of Bengal are the Andaman Islands whose dark bronze or black tribes are sometimes miscalled Mincopies. They are well-made dapper little fellows, usually genial in disposition. The territory occupied by each tribe is considered to be the common property of all its members. Each tribe has a chief whose power is very limited. He tries to settle disputes between members of the tribe,[1] but he has no power to punish or to force obedience to his wishes. The sub-chiefs exercise a nominal authority over each encampment, which may consist of from twenty to fifty individuals. That the sites of their settlements are not often changed is shown by the size of the shell mounds or kitchen middens. The chiefs and elders are usually superior in intelligence, for social status depends not so much on accident of birth as on ability in hunting, fishing, and fighting. Women are never consulted in regard to events of importance, though it is they who perform the shaving, tattooing, and scarifying. Monogamy is the rule, and fidelity prevails. Hospitality is always shown to strangers[2] if properly introduced.

The only objects that might possibly be termed

[1] E. H. Man, "On the Aborig. Inhab. of the And. Isl.," *J. A. I.*, xii. 71 ff.; xiv. 253 (southern tribes); T. Cadell, "Andamans and Andamanese," *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1889, v. 57 ff.; M. V. Portman, "Notes on the Andamanese," *J. A. I.*, xxv. 361 (northern); id., "On the And. Isl. and the Andamanese," *Journ. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, N. S., xiii. 474 (northern); G. Fritsch, "Ein Besuch auf den Andamanen," *Globus*, 1907, xcii. 181 ("decidedly Nigritic").

[2] Man, xii. 108, 135, 328, 330; Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 427, 474, 486 f.

musical instruments are the sounding-boards, the shape of which resembles the shell of a turtle. Scooped out of the fallen trunk of a hardwood tree, the convex side is turned outward when the pukuta [3] or sounding-board is used to mark time during a song and its concomitant dance.

a. Dances

The Andamanese have single and collective dances, dances for men only and for women only as well as mixed dances. A successful hunt, the unexpected visit of distant friends, a recovery from illness, indeed almost any notable episode is sufficient to call forth a choric dance. There are single dances for boys and for girls when they reach adolescence. After a wedding there is a communal dance in which all take part except the bride and bridegroom. There is a parental dance after the decease of a child, and another mortuary dance [4] in connection with the burial.

In addition to these smaller festivities the head chief of a tribe may summon all the encampments or clans to a big festal gathering,[5] which is typical of all such assemblies. The silver moonbeams fall upon the painted men and women as they stream forth to an open space fringed with dense jungle. On one side sit the women in line ready to sing the choral refrain; on the other side are onlookers many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands. Expecting no other reward, it is but fair, even were it not necessary, that the director, who is both poet and musical composer, should be allotted a place where every eye can behold him. Resting one foot on the narrow end of the sounding-board and supporting himself with spear or bow, he beats time for the singers

[3] F. Jagor, "Andamanesen oder Mincopies," *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, 1877, ix. 63; Man, *J. A. I.*, xii. 390, 399; Portman, "Andamanese Music," *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., London, 1888, xx. 183.

[4] Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, xiii. 475; Man, *J. A. I.*, xii. 76, 131, 138, 143.

[5] *Ibid.*, 388 ff; Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, xiii. 473; id., *J. A. I.*, xxv. 368.

and dancers by tapping the sounding-board with the heel of the other foot. A musical festival has been known to last several days continuously, so that now and again the director has to be relieved by one of his male friends or perhaps by a woman.

Every form is still and every voice hushed as he sings a solo. At a given signal the dancers swarm forth from the surrounding gloom, the refrain being taken up simultaneously by the male dancers and by the women. In a stooping posture each dancer throws his whole weight upon one leg, which is bent at the knee. At breast height he stretches out his hands in front, the thumb of one held between thumb and forefinger of the other, while the rest of the fingers point upward. In this fashion he advances by sudden jerks, hopping on one foot and stamping the ground with the other at every alternate hop. Backward and forward across the clearing go the dancers in time with the chorus. When they begin to feel fatigue, the dancers rest by bending the knees and raising the heels from the ground in harmony with the measure of the chorus.

It is not so common for women [6] to engage in dances. As they swing their arms to and fro, they bend the knees and indulge in a series of short bobs up and down in excellent time. Now and again they step forward a few paces and then revert to the original movement. The dance is apparently of an erotic character.

The nearest approach which the Andamanese make to the tragic drama is displayed in their society calls. When they have been absent for some time, relatives exhibit their joy at meeting by sitting with arms round each other's necks. In this position they sob and wail in a manner that would arouse a stranger's sympathies. Indeed externally their demonstrations of joy and grief are identical. In a singing tone they cry out, one

[6] Man, *J. A. I.*, xii. 390 f.

group in tones of high pitch, and another in those of low. The crying chorus[7] begins with the women, but the men speedily join, and soon in groups of three or four they shed tears until unable to do so from exhaustion. Their gregarious fondling ceases, and if no one is in mourning, a dance begins in which the women sometimes take part.

b. Songs

If we take their low state of culture into account, perhaps the most remarkable feature of Andamanese vocal music is that at times it seems to show the beginnings of harmony. Along with the children some of the women sing in falsetto an octave above the men, while the rest of the women sing in what appears to be meant as a perfect fifth above the men. Unconsciously it is often really a minor sixth, yet in spite of frequent discords the evident intention is to produce harmony.[8]

There are crude songs for almost every recent event, but the favourite themes are bow and boat making, turtle and dugong spearing, fish shooting, hunting and fighting. Neither lullabies nor love songs have hitherto been noted[9] by foreigners, but it does not follow that no such songs exist.

The Andamanese do not scruple to sacrifice either words or melody for the sake of the rhythm. On the same altar are laid word-forms and syntax. For instance, one[10] of their choral refrains runs thus:

> "Cheklu ya laku mejra?
> Who missed the hard (backed) turtle?"

The prose construction is "Mija yadi chebalen la

[7] F. Day, "Observations on the Andamanese," *Proc. Asi. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, 157; Jagor, 45; Man, 147 f.; Portman, xiii. 473. The Tangi is a parallel Maori custom.

[8] Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 184 f.; Wallaschek, 142. Man (xii. 391) states that the musical ability of the Southern Andamanese is low, that they have little or no idea of pitch or tune, and that they have no conception of part-singing or harmony.

[9] Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 184. Cf. Day, 157.

[10] Man, *J. A. I.*, xii. 118.

kachire?" The metrical version is so mutilated [11] as to be virtually unintelligible, and for this reason the composer of a new ditty is obliged to interpret his lyric effort so as to enhance its effect when set in the dramaturgic framework of tribal custom. In other words the islanders have a special metric dialect, in the use of which such poetic license is allowed that prior to a big festival both solo and chorus have to be carefully rehearsed for days.

Given a traditional air they can easily produce sounds, with or without meaning, which they regard as a new song. With such a conveniently low standard of prosody it is not surprising that practically all of the Andamanese, even the children, can compose songs to their own satisfaction. Highly elated is the man who can compose a popular distich [12] concerning some recent personal or tribal exploit. The refrain usually consists in a repetition of the two lines of the solo, both of which are chanted hour after hour. At first there is a certain attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but naturally enough the cultured foreigner longs for a little variety in their choral dance melodies, some of which are said [13] to have but three notes. The soloist cries:

"Oba eboyu bedate."

The shouted response of the chorus [14] is:

"Teare—are—area."

These phrases have no more and no less meaning than our Tra-la-la.

[11] Man, 76, 391 ff.; Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 185, 193. Cf. Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the So. And. Group of Tribes*, Calcutta, 1898; Sir R. C. Temple, "Plan for the Uniform Scientific Record of the Languages of Savages," *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, 1201 (Andamanese grammar).

[12] In the United States an approximation to such couplets may be noted in the case of some of the southern negroes, among whom are often found distichs and improvisations in rhythm, sung to an intoning more or less approaching melody. Cf. C. Peabody, "Notes on Negro Music," *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, Boston, 1903, xvi. 148 ff.

[13] Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 184 f.; Man, *J. A. I.*, xii. 389, 391.

[14] Man, 392.

Among the traditional songs of these islanders is one [15] that is linked with the mythic origin of tattooing. Maia Duku, who was the first man to tattoo himself, was out one day fishing. When he shot off an arrow, it missed its mark and struck a bit of iron, the first that ever was found. With it Duku tattooed [16] himself, after which he sang this verse:

"What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed."

Another traditional song [17] is supposed to have been composed by a man named Berebi, who was envious of Kolwot. These are the words that he addressed to Kolwot's mother:

"Bring the boat to the beach;
I will see your fine grown-up son,
The grown-up son who caused them to flee into the sea,[18]
The fine grown-up son.
My adze is rusty. I will stain my lips [19] with his blood."

The lament or cursing chant of Kolwot's mother forms a sequel to the narrative song of Berebi. When Berebi treacherously bit his rival in the arm, his teeth became so fastened in the flesh that he could not tear himself from his victim. Kolwot's friends avenged his murder, but the mother became so crazed with

[15] Man, 170. Cf. Portman, *J. R. A. S.*, 481.

[16] Man, 76, 85, 370; Portman, 472, 474, 489. These tribes show little skill in painting, scarification, or tattooing. They cut about a dozen conventional patterns upon utensils and weapons, but they never attempt to represent natural objects. The Jarawas abstain from tattooing because they have no faith in its ornamental or magical value. The Onges do not scarify but paint. Cf. C. B. Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, London, 1903, 37, 39.

[17] Man, 167, 169, 171.

[18] The allusion is to another legend. Kolwot is soloist, but the women through carelessness spoil the effect of the chorus. In anger he seizes his bow, and the whole party flee in every direction. Those that escape into the sea are transformed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and other fish which up to that time were unknown.

[19] In all Andamanese chants and myths a certain amount is left to the imagination. If we fill the ellipses, the saga runs thus. Berebi, hearing of his rival's exploits, resolves to kill him by strategy. One day he sees Kolwot and the mother on the water. Pretending friendship he enters their canoe with a rusty adze and a hone to show that he merely wants to gossip while using the hone. He begins to flatter Kolwot and asks to be allowed to feel the muscles of his arm. Then follows the tragic climax.

grief that she broke the commands of the god Puluga. She also urged others to do the same in these words:[20]

E, e, e! (sobbing) "My grown-up handsome son!
" " " Burn the wax,
" " " Grind the seed of the *chakan,*
" " " Destroy the *barata,*
" " " Dig up the *gono,*
" " " Dig up the *chati,*
" " " Destroy everything."

Puluga became so enraged that he sent the flood, which destroyed all living creatures except two men and two women.

Some time after the burial of a child the parents exhume the remains, which are taken by the father and cleansed in the nearest stream or on the seashore. The bones are broken up and made into necklaces[21] by the mother who along with her husband distributes them as amulets to cure disease and to ward off evil spirits from their friends. The mother, after painting the skull[22] with red ochre and decorating it with small shells fastened to bits of string, hangs it as a memento round her neck with a netted chain. In connection with such mortuary ceremonies the friends gather about the hut, and the bereaved father sings an old song which perhaps he sang to his little one when last he held it alive in his arms. Wailings of grief and sympathy are uttered by the mourning

[20] Man, 167 ff. Cf. F. J. Mouat, *Adventures,* etc., London, 1863, 307.

[21] Man, 86, 401; Portman, 473, 475, 487; Kloss, 25. Cf. J. C. Frommann, *Tractatus de Fascinatione,* Nuremberg, 1675, 681 (magic use of dead men's fingers); E. T. Dalton, *Trans. Ethn. Soc.,* N. S., London, 1868, vi. 37 (Hos and Mundahs preserving bone fragments); Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology,* 4 vols., London, 1880–8, iii. 1073 (fingers of unborn babe); J. G. R. Forlong, *Rivers of Life,* 2 vols., London, 1883, i. 541; H. L. Roth, *Aborigines of Tasmania,* London, 1800, 76 (deceased's bones worn as charms); K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens,* Berlin, 1894, 184 (bone collars for women and children); W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas,* London, 1906, 269, 333, 428 (magic chain of stone and bone put on a child's wrist at the first head-shaving and at the naming ceremony).

[22] See note on Maori *hahunga.* The connection between red and dead, which was first observed by M. Rivière in 1872, is as ancient as the European palæoliths. Cf. *Boll. Palethn. Ital.,* viii. 48; *Rev. d'Anthr.,* 1889, 606; E. Cartailhac, *La France préhistorique,* Paris, 1889, 116; *L'Anthr.,* 1890, 446; 1892, 483; 1894, 72; 1896, 385; *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.,* 1891, 124; 1895, 280; *Rev. des Deux Mondes,* June 1, 1897; *Rev. des Quest. Scient.,* Bruxelles, Oct. 20, 1897; *A. f. Religsw.,* Leipzig, 1906, ix. 1 ff.

friends. Then the women chant the refrain of the paternal song, while the parents perform a dance, called The Shedding of Tears. When the parents at last retire to their hut, the male and female friends continue the sad dance and song for many hours.

c. Mythic Tales

The mythology of the Andaman islanders is by no means consistent in all its details, probably because older myths survive alongside those that are more recent. Believers in magic and witchcraft, they see nothing unnatural in the metamorphosis of men [23] into beasts, birds, reptiles, fish, plants, or boulders. They have neither forms of worship nor religious rites, yet they acknowledge the existence of good and evil powers, and they look forward to a life in the unseen world. The greatest of supernatural beings is Puluga, the creator, who passes sentence after death. The Andamanese feel satisfied that certain evil spirits are never far away, and fire is one of the chief weapons with which the people scare them off. Even Puluga has no authority over these demons [24] whose three leaders haunt the woods, the ant-hills, and the sea.

The first mythic tale [25] refers to Puluga and his wife. "Puluga dwells in a large stone house in the sky. He created his wife with whom he dwells. She is green in appearance. Her two names are Mother Freshwater Shrimp and Mother Eel. The family is large—all girls but the eldest. The girls are sky-spirits. They look black. With their mother they amuse themselves at times by throwing fish and

[23] Man, 156. The same trend of thought occurs among peoples of far higher culture—survivals probably, though possibly due to fusion of peoples of diverse culture. Everyone is familiar with the Indian doctrine of transmigration and with the Hellenic reincarnations. For Egypt cf. G. Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1893, i. 117, ii. 213; A. Wiedemann, *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, London, 1902, 17, 56.

[24] Man, 158f.; Portman, 475.

[25] Man, 158. Cf. E. W. Elkington, *Wide Wld. Mag.*, July, 1907, 233.

prawns into the streams. This they do for the man people. Puluga's son is Pijchor. He is a leading sky-spirit. He alone is allowed to live with his father."

This tradition [26] concerns the solar family. "The sun is the wife of the moon. The stars are of both sexes. These are the children. They sleep during the day. The whole family eat near the home of Puluga. They never enter. Chana Bodo (the sun) is like fire and covered with thorns. Maia Ogar (the moon) is white-skinned. He has two long tusks and a big beard. Their home is below the eastern skyline. Chana Bodo rests regularly until dawn. Maia Ogar has many family cares. His hours of rest are thus not regular. They pass under earth to their home. Then it is that they shed light upon the poor spirits of the other world. This they do while asleep. All these things Puluga commands."

The legend of the first man [27] may be rendered thus. "When the world was first made, Puluga created a man. His name was Tomo. He was black as we are—much taller and bearded. Puluga showed him fruit trees in the jungle. During the rains Tomo must not partake of certain fruits. Puluga taught him how to get and to use fire. He stacked in alternate layers two kinds of wood—*chor* and *ber*. Then he bade Mother Sun to come and sit near the pile. She ignited it. She went back to her place in the sky."

The Women and the Caterpillar [28]—a typical legend. "One day the sun shone hot. It made the people unhappy. Two women named Chana Limi and Chana Jarangud became cross at the sun's heat. They found a caterpillar and a plant called *utura*. Upon the poor

[26] Man, 160.
[27] *Ibid.*, 164. Remembering that Puluga is head of the native pantheon, it is significant when we find him here playing a part singularly inconsistent with the idea of a Supreme Being current amongst less primitive people.
[28] *Ibid.*, 172.

caterpillar they vented their bad temper; one of them crushed it. The other woman destroyed the plant. Puluga was angry at this wrong. He sent men a long night. Thus might they learn to value sunlight more than before. Night has the same name as caterpillar —*gurug*. This is why."

The legend concerning the genesis of the evil spirits known as Chol[29] is this: "One day Maia Chol stole a pig. It had just been captured by Maia Kolwot. Maia Chol climbed into a tree with his booty. Now Maia Kolwot was very very strong. He became angry and resolved to have revenge. All round the tree he planted a number of spikes. He then began to force it into the ground. If Maia Chol stayed up in the tree, he would be buried alive. He sprang off and was impaled on the spikes. He died miserably. His ghost did not pass to Chaitan.[30] It took up its abode on the invisible bridge. By Puluga's orders many of Maia Chol's descendants were afterward sent to join him. They are in the form of black birds with long tails.

No writing of any kind is to be found among these tribes, though there is a tradition of much the same kind as exists in Fiji, New Guinea, and New Zealand. There are three weather-beaten boulders near Wotaemi. The legend is that the deep incisions upon one of them are petroglyphs cut by Tomo, the first man, who left on record a history of creation. The aborigines aver[31] that the art of deciphering the alleged record has been lost for many ages.

[29] Man, 159, 173.

[30] This Andaman Hades is a gloomy jungle where the souls of the dead are sent by Puluga to await resurrection. Earth and the eastern sky are spanned by an invisible cane bridge which steadies the earth and connects it with Jereg (Paradise). It is over this bridge that the souls must pass to reach either Jereg or Jereglar-mugu (place of punishment—cold). Cf. Man, 161f. On the other hand, Portman (475) declares that the natives of the north do not believe in a future state.

[31] Man, 114, 171. The value of this story depends largely upon its antiquity. In comparatively recent times it may have been suggested to the islanders by the desire to emulate foreign visitors or residents. Vanity is often a wonderful stimulant to human fancy. Cf. *J. A. I.*, vii. 106.

2. Veddas

Back in the inland jungle of Ceylon dwell the Veddas [32] far from where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours. The Rock and the Village Veddas constitute the two divisions [33] of this tribe, the former leading the life of nomadic hunters. Physically they seem to have certain affinities with the Dravidian race [34] of India. They are monogamists and have always been regarded as gentle [35] honest folk. Like the Australian blackfellows and most of the present hunting tribes the Veddas have succeeded in training the dog [36] to assist in hunting. Each little clan or group of kinsmen has as a headman the eldest male, who exercises an occasional mild authority [37] in matters of common interest. He is simply the first among his equals in a territory where the caste system is unknown. Each clan has its own hunting-ground, but certain beasts, birds, and reptiles are tabooed.[38]

The Veddas are undoubtedly the earliest inhabitants

[32] Cf. R. Percival, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1805, 262, 283; J. Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon*, 2 vols., London, 1807, i. 91; J. Bailey, "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N. S., 1863, ii. 280 (Vedan is a Tamil word meaning hunter); B. F. Hartshorne, "The Weddas," *Fortnightly Review*, N. S., 1876, xix. 406 (Wedda is from Sanskrit Vyadha meaning hunter); G. E. Worthington, "Veddas," *Journ. Ceylon Br. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, Colombo, 1884, p. lxxviii; D. Ferguson, "The Veddas of Ceylon," *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, 357f. (Pedro Teixeira first mentions this tribe in 1610. Prof. W. Geiger claims that the stem-form of Vedda is vedi, which suggests the participle vajjita, meaning isolated.)

[33] Cf. R. Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1681 (*reprinted* 1817), 126; J. Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its Inhabitants*, London, 1821, 116; C. Pridham, *An Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, 2 vols., London, 1849, 454; J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*, 2 vols., 5th ed., London, 1860, ii. 439; Hartshorne, 406; P. and F. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1887–93, iii. 81. Tennent (ii. 444) makes a third division—Coast Veddas.

[34] G. Rolleston, "On the Weddo of Ceylon," *Rep. Brit. Assoc. Adv. Sci.*, 1872, 194; Deniker, 417.

[35] Tennent, ii. 444; Bailey, 291; Hartshorne, 409. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1879, viii. 316.

[36] Percival, 286; R. Fellows, *The History of Ceylon from the earliest Period to the year* 1815, London, 1817, 246; Hartshorne, 407.

[37] Tennent, ii. 440; O. Sachot, *L'Ile de Ceylan*, 5th ed., Paris, 1869, 15; Hartshorne, 416; Sarasin, iii. 78.

[38] Tennent, ii. 439; Bailey, 288.

of Ceylon,[39] and there is nothing to show that the hunting clans ever reached a higher stage of culture. It is true that, like the Kwai of South Africa, they are probably but the remnants of a people that at one time were the sole human occupants of the country. It is also true that the invading Singhalese overcame them in the course of a prolonged guerrilla warfare; but while they have deteriorated in numbers and in general comfort,[40] there is little or no trustworthy evidence to show that the Veddas are degenerate in the sense that they have been reduced from a more advanced culture to the mere hunting stage. The Rock[41] Veddas are simply unprogressive, satisfied with the wild fruits and game of their tropical homeland.

a. Dances

It is remarkable that the Rock Veddas neither make nor use musical instruments,[42] a fact which indicates very meagre inventive power. In this respect they are more primitive than any tribe that we have hitherto considered.

The Vedda dances[43] lack the concerted precision of Akkaland, the vigour of the Andaman Islands, and the

[39] Cf. F. and P. Sarasin, "Steinzeit der Weddas," *Globus*, 1907, xci. 255 (recent discoveries of prehistoric stone implements in Nilgala).

[40] Davy, 121; Pridham, i. 452f.; Tennent, i. 335, 592, ii. 428; Sachot, 9, 13; Sarasin, *Ergebnisse*, iii. 79. Several of these authorities allude to a Vedda legend which claims that the hunters are of royal descent, and that their forefathers possessed supernatural powers. Mr. H. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*), identifying them with the Yakkas of early legend, believes that they are the modern representatives of a relatively civilized pre-Dravidian race. Cf. A. Thompson, *J. A. I.*, xix. 159.

[41] So called because they often dwell in caves or under overhanging rocks.

[42] Tennent, ii. 443; J. F. Rowbotham, "Art of Music in Prehistoric Times," *J. A. I.*, 1881, x. 381; M. E. and A. W. Brown, *Musical Instruments and their Homes*, New York, 1888, 241; Wallaschek, 87; N. Puccioni, "Gli oggetti musicali del Museo Nazionale d'Antropologia," *A. p. l'Antrop.*, Firenze, 1906, xxxvi. 59ff. (considers the Vedda music question not yet settled).

[43] Percival, 287; Knox, 125; Davy, 118 (song and dance of Village Veddas, with whom we have no direct concern, because they are not hunters); W. Hoffmeister, *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India* (trans.), Edinburgh, 1848, 164; Pridham, i. 457; L. de Zoysa, "Note on the Origin of the Veddas," *Journ. Ceylon Br. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, 1881, vii. 114; E. Deschamps, *Au pays des Veddas–Ceylan*, Paris, 1892, 368 ff.; Sarasin, iii. 512 ff.

elaboration observed in Australia. They are based upon a feeling of awe rather than sensuous pleasure, practically all of them being ghost or magic dances. The Veddas believe that every rock and tree is haunted by a spirit, and through the air the spirits soar in myriads. The people stand in awe of these nameless phantoms, though there is but one malevolent demon whom they really fear. The shades of the dead are benevolent. When illness comes to one of the kinsmen, the relatives entreat the presence of the deceased ancestors. As they utter the ancestral names, they dance [44] around the couch of the sick one, but whether their movements are symbolic or not is still unknown. The obvious purpose of the dance is to enlist the ancestral spirits against the demon that has sent the ailment.

Another collective dance is described [45] as a sort of shuffling to the accompaniment of a low plaintive crooning, while their long tresses quiver and coil round the upper part of their bodies. The time of both dance and song accelerates as they utter shrill cries, leap into the air, and finally cling round each other's necks.

A third dance [46] is perhaps a hunting dance in disguise. This thought seems to underlie the arrow, the symbol round which they dance. When an arrow has been fixed upright in the ground, the people indulge in a slow circular dance, while they chant an invocation to the spirits of their children, who are supposed to be specially potent and kindly. The shades of the departed are so wise that they know what is wanted. The dancers therefore do not mention why they are inviting the ghosts.

Another magic or ghost dance [47] is also linked with expectation of success in hunting. In this case the

[44] Bailey, 303.
[45] Tennent, ii. 450; Sachot, 18 ("danse sur la cadence d'un chant plaintif").
[46] Bailey, 301. Cf. Gummere, 330, 466.
[47] Bailey, 302. Cf. Percival, 287; Davy, 118; Hartshorne, 416.

symbol is not indirect but direct, and the petition is also direct. Instead of an arrow there is food, which is placed in the dry bed of a stream or in some other sheltered spot. Again the ancestral spirits are called by name, while the people dance in a ring whose centre is the food symbol. Half singing, half shouting tones punctuate the steps of the dance, the performers stating clearly that they long for sustenance.

Though the Veddas have faith in the efficacy of what are called devil dances,[48] they do not know how to secure the magic aid. To ward off storm, lightning, or sickness they summon devil dancers, who have the occult power of scaring the evil spirit that threatens. As this is not a Vedda dance, a description of it may be omitted.

b. Songs

If the Rock Veddas can improvise songs, the fact is still unrecorded. Their vocal art[49] is not very pleasing to the ears of strangers. As a rule the dance and kindred ceremonies constitute a dramatic setting for their poetry.[50] While the ring of performers slowly wavers in the arrow dance, they chant in monotonous chorus these simple words:[51]

> "My departed one, my departed one, my god!
> Where art thou wandering?"

The traditional song[52] which is droned during the food dance is superior to the first specimen in metrical

[48] Tennent, ii. 442; Bailey, 303. Cf. Sarasin, iii. 511 (magic cords worn to avert illness).

[49] Pridham, i. 457 ("guttural sounds little akin to melody"); C. J. R. Le Mesurier, "The Veddas of Ceylon," *Journ. Ceylon Br. R. A. S.*, 1887, ix. 336 (cannot modulate voice "probably from disuse").

[50] Tennent, ii. 450; Sachot, 18; De Zoysa, 98; Deschamps, 386; Sarasin, iii. 510; H. Nevill, "The Vædda of Ceylon," *Taprobanian*, Bombay, ii. 121.

[51] Bailey, 301f. "Ma miya, ma miya, ma deya!
Topang koyihetti mittigan yandah?"

[52] *Ibid.*, 302. Cf. Percival, 287; J. Combarieu, "Conférence sur la musique et la magie," *Rev. Mus.*, Paris, 1907, vii. 248 ff. (music as magic—"those devices by the help of which man believes himself able to impose his will upon nature").

length as well as in expression. Swaying their bodies in the circular dance they shout or try to sing the following lines, from which the names of ancestral souls are omitted:

"Come and partake of this!
Give us maintenance as you did when alive!
Come, wheresoever you may be——
On a tree, on a rock, in the forest, come!"

Written charms, obtained from the Singhalese, have been noticed among a few of the Veddas, and occasionally a palm-leaf book serves as an oracle or fetish. The most potent charms, however, fall from the lips of the hunters. The rhythm of these oral charms is that of recitation rather than song. Here is one [53] of their formulas, the virtue of which is increased by repetition.

"O ye persons that are dead!
Take these offerings of food."

Another [54] of their numerous charms is recited as a protection against the wild boar. It is translated thus:

"Boar of the sun-god!
Boar of the moon-god!
Boar of the Passé Buddha!
Stay, boar, stay!"

The foregoing allusion to Buddhism is somewhat of a surprise. For the Veddas the name Buddha merely implies some mystic person that is favourably regarded by their alien neighbours. The Veddas do not dream of inquiring into the real meaning of their charms. All that they care to know is that a certain formula ought to be recited under certain circumstances.

c. Mythic Tales

The mythology of this tribe needs more thorough study. Vedda myths are not much better known than

[53] Hartshorne, 416.
[54] Bailey, 304.

the Akka and Obongo myths. That they exist can scarcely be doubted.

Although in magic formulas they invoke the sun and moon as well as the ancestral spirits and the nameless phantoms of earth and air, they have not risen to the conception of a Supreme Being.[55] In spite of allegations to the contrary[56] they certainly believe in a future state. Every kinsman after death becomes a spirit that plays the part of guardian angel to the survivors. Toward a stranger the ghost may be far from friendly. The special interest of these disembodied spirits[57] can be gained in time of illness. The benevolent shades also visit the blood-relations in dreams and give success in hunting.

In the unseen world exists a dualism parallel to that of earth. There is an intermittent struggle between the good and the evil spirits. The latter are specially to be feared by night. One of them may lurk in the jungle and inflict deadly injury. There is no sign of nature-worship, nor has Vedda society evolved a special class of wonder-workers, whether wizards or priests.

3. Semang

The Semang are the Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula, whose characteristic hunting weapon is the bow[58] with poisoned arrows. For hunting purposes a half-wild reddish-coloured dog is used. The Semang are of much the same height and disposition as the Andamanese,[59] and have the same woolly hair. There are two kinds of Semang,[60] nomadic hunters,

[55] Percival, 287; Knox, 125; Pridham, i. 308; Bailey, 302; Sachot, 16.
[56] Davy, 118; Tennent, ii. 441.
[57] Bailey, 301; Hartshorne, 415.
[58] N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson, "Exped. to the Malay Peninsula," *J. A. I.*, xxxii. 413; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols., London, 1906, i. 21, 53.
[59] H. Clifford, *J. R. A. S., Straits Br.*, 1891, 14; R. Temple, *Census Report on Andaman Islands*, London, 1901 (cited by Skeat and Blagden, i. 585); O. Schlaginhaufen, "Ein Beitrag zur Craniologie der Semang," *Abh. u. Ber. d. Kgl. Zool. u. Anthr.-Ethnog. Mus.*, Dresden, 1907, xi. 1 ff.
[60] Cf. J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Archip. and E. Asia*, 1850, iv. 425; id., *J. R. A. S., Straits Br.*, 1880, 85; L. Wray, "The Cave-dwellers of Perak,"

and a few others who through contact with Malays have acquired the rudiments of agriculture. With the latter we are not here concerned. The pure Semang paint the body at times, but they neither tattoo nor scarify, while the women wear a magic comb[61] to ward off disease and danger. Believers in monogamy they live in small family groups under patriarchal rule. Caste is unknown, so that even the tribal chief is but first among his equals. All property is in common. The names of the first three or four numerals are all that they require for ordinary purposes, but from the Malays some have learned the names and values of the higher numerals. As among all hunting tribes sex constitutes the basis of division of labour. The women erect temporary shelters, collect roots and fruits, cook food, and manufacture mats, bark-cloth, and baskets. The men are excellent hunters and trappers, afraid of neither the elephant nor the rhinoceros,[62] and conspicuous for their good sense.

The simplest Negrito instrument consists of two hardwood sticks or bamboo slivers which are beaten against each other. Another musical instrument consists of a long bamboo cane, the open end of which is struck with a palm-leaf fan. These instruments of percussion serve to preserve the rhythm of dance and song. The mouth-flute and the nose-flute are occasionally used to accompany songs, but the Jew's-harp is for individual amusement. Both the Jew's-harp and a sort of guitar are probably of Malayan origin. It is doubtful if the drum[63] is ever used. C D E G A are the five tones of the Semang musical scale.

J. A. I., 1897, xxvi. 37; *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, 557; Skeat and Blagden, i. 53, 109.

[61] H. V. Stevens, *Materialen zur Kenntniss der Wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malaka*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–4, iii. 135; id., "Die Zaubermuster der Orang-Semang," *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, 1893, xxv. 71 ff.; *ibid.*, xxvi. 142; Skeat and Blagden, i. 53, 395 (discussed under decorative art).

[62] *Journ. Ind. Archip. and E. Asia*, 1850, iv. 426; Skeat and Blagden, i. 13, 200 ff.

[63] J. de Morgan, "Mœurs, costumes, et languages des Negritos de l'intérieur de la presqu'ile Malaise," *Bull. de la Soc. Normande de Géog.*, 1885, vii. 430; Skeat and Blagden, i. 54; ii. 121 ff.

a. Dances

At festive gatherings, which are usually held by night, both sexes adorn themselves with bands and tassels of leaves and flowers, partly for æsthetic and partly for magic purposes. The women alone are the dancers. The Pangan women dance slowly in a swaying circle, but the women of Kedah indulge in a stationary dance. In a Kedah performance[64] several women and a girl danced to the accompaniment of a male orchestra, which consisted of two bamboo-cane beaters, two stick clashers, and a nose-flute player. At times the orchestra sang as they played, while an old man acted as director of the vocal music. With bent knees and the body turned partly round, the women exhibited some graceful motions of the feet. Sometimes the arms hung loosely, at other times they undulated from side to side or swayed in front to the cadence of the music.

The Semang of Perak have mimetic solo dances,[65] which are well worthy of notice. With a sort of slow polka step a young girl enters, swaying the arms behind her back. As she steps round two or three times, her movements are supposed to symbolise the search for a husband. A suitor appears, dancing about her as he sings of flowers, birds, and insects. Backward she moves, followed by the unsuccessful suitor. After she has rejected a second and a third admirer, into the arena come three other young girls with whom the disconsolate suitors are soon dancing and chatting gleefully. Too late the first girl sees her error. When she finds that her former lovers cannot be won back, she stops dancing and utters the most woeful cries. After dancing round her for a few minutes, one of the

[64] Skeat and Blagden, ii. 126.

[65] J. de Morgan, "Voyage d'éxploration dans la presqu'ile Malaise," *Bull. de la Soc. Normande de Géog.*, 1886, viii. 282. For cruder dances of the Perak Semang cf. W. E. Maxwell, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Perak," *J. R. A. S., Straits Br.*, 1879, 48.

men renews his suit, and she humbly agrees to become his second wife. Thus ends the amorous dance-drama.

b. Songs

The poetic diction of the aborigines has not yet received thorough study, but it is asserted by the Semang that in their songs they employ words and phrases unlike those of colloquial speech.[66] The words often have extra syllables to suit the cadence of the melody. The lines are repeated in almost any order, the refrain alone being invariable. Words are often strung together without any apparent regard for meaning,[67] so long as the sounds fill up the musical measure. About a dozen songs have been recorded upon the phonograph,[68] the themes of which are supplied by the forest homeland of the Semang. The apparent love of nature is, of course, mainly based upon its connection with the food supply.

The Monkey Song[69]

"He runs along the branches, Kra!
Carrying off (fruit) with him, Kra!
He runs to and fro, Kra!
Over the seraya trees, Kra!
Over the rambutan trees, Kra!
Over the live bamboos, Kra!
Over the dead bamboos, Kra!
He runs along the branches, Kra!
Peering forward, Kra!
And dangling downward, Kra!
He runs along the branches and hoots, Kra!
Peering forward, Kra!
Among the young fruit trees, Kra!
And showing his grinning teeth, Kra!
From every sapling, Kra!
Peering forward, Kra!
He is dressed for the dance, Kra!
With the porcupine's quill through his nose, Kra!"

[66] P. W. Schmidt, "Die Sprachen der Sakai und Semang auf Malaka und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer Sprachen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indie*, The Hague, 1901, iii. 563, 581, 583; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 127, 430.

[67] Maxwell, 49; De Morgan, vii. 430, viii. 282.

[68] Skeat and Blagden, i. 627ff (Semang text and English translation), ii. 127ff.

[69] *Ibid.*, i. 628, ii. 128. The subject of the song is a monkey called Kra.

The monosyllabic refrain punctuates a very simple tune. The closing couplet invites the monkey to join in a tribal dance.

THE SONG OF THE FRUIT-CLUSTER[70]

"The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster at the end of the spray;
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster that we climb for;
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind;
The fruit-cluster waves to and fro,
The fruit-cluster whose pulp is acid;
The fruit-cluster sways to and fro;
The fruit-cluster turns in the wind,
The fruit-cluster that spins round and round."

In the original the invariable part of each line is at the beginning, and has two accents. The variable part has also two accents and there is occasional unconscious rime. The lines may be sung in any order and repeated indefinitely.

THE WILD GINGER PLANT[71]

"Its stem bends as its leaves shoot up;
Down to its root it bends and sways,
Bends and sways in divers ways;
Its leaves are chafed and lose their stiffness;
On craggy Inas it is blown about,
On craggy Inas which is our home.
Blown about in the light breeze,
Blown about with the mist, blown about with the haze,
Blown about are its young shoots,
Blown about in the haze of the mountain,
Blown about in the light breeze.
It nods and nods upon the mountains,
Mountains of Beching, mountains of Inas,
Mountains of Malau, mountains of Kuwi,
Mountains of Mantan, mountains of Lumu,
On every mountain which is our home."

The foregoing song has no regular refrain, though in almost every line there are repeated words and sounds. It has four accents to the line.

[70] Skeat and Blagden, i. 627, ii. 128 (a free translation).
[71] *Ibid.*, i. 627, ii. 129.

THE FRUIT-BUDS [72]

"They swell and swell, the fruit buds!
To and fro wave the fruit-buds!
Blown about are the fruit-buds!
In the wind, the fruit-buds!
In the light wind, the fruit-buds!
Spinning round and round, the fruit-buds!
Swaying to and fro, the fruit-buds!"

In each line of the original are four regular accented syllables. The sense of time is excellent.

THE RIPENING FRUIT [73]

"Plump grows the fruit at the end of the spray!
We climb and cut it off at the end of the spray!
Plump is the bird at the end of the spray!
And plump the buck squirrel at the end of the spray!"

The metre of this song is more ambitious than that of any of the others. There are four accents in the variable part of the line, and two in the unvarying refrain. Negrito lines never end on an unaccented syllable, and as a rule they can be recited in any order. Poetic license permits variation of accent in any word in order to meet the demands of the music.

c. MYTHIC TALES

The most influential member of a Semang tribe is the chief, since he usually plays the part of shaman or medicine-man.[74] Diseases are demons, and must therefore be driven out by sorcery. These magicians alone know the infallible love-charms; they can slay men at a distance, and in trances they can pay flying visits to Paradise. During life they can transform themselves into tigers, and at death their souls may enter the body of an elephant, tiger, or rhinoceros. Even the Malays [75] stand in awe of Semang magic. Totemism is unknown, yet under certain conditions

[72] Skeat and Blagden, i. 627, ii. 129.
[73] *Ibid.*, i. 627, ii. 130.
[74] P. J. Begbie, *The Malay Peninsula*, Madras, 1834, 13; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 225 ff.
[75] Logan, *J. I. A.*, iv. 426; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 231.

there are taboos[76] against the eating of certain plants and animals.

Among the Semang nature-myths are the tales concerning the sun,[77] the moon, and the stars. The sun is a woman. Her husband is Ag-ag, the Crow. On reaching the west Mother Sun falls suddenly into a great hole or cavern. Men fear the eclipse of the sun. It is a great serpent or dragon that tries to swallow Mother Sun.

The moon is a woman. Her husband is Ta Ponn. He looks just like a man, but is white as cotton. The stars are their children. At eclipse of the moon a python enfolds her. It is really moon's mother-in-law in the guise of a snake. She is trying to embrace moon. Moon, however, shrinks from the embrace.

The Semang believe in three superior potencies named Kari, Ple, and Ta Ponn, besides minor nature-spirits and man-spirits. Here is a legend of Kari,[78] the thunder-god. "Kari created everything but earth. He ordered Ple to finish it for him. When Ple had created men, Kari gave them souls. These men were very good. Death had not yet come. The Semang thrived on fruits and soon were numerous. Kari saw there were too many. Down he came to the Jelmol Mountains to see what should be done. The Semang crossing the mountain did not see him. None can see him. They ran over his feet like ants. He blew them away. His Breath was fiery and burnt up those that were near. He ordered his Breath to lead their souls to heaven."

Semang mythology has several legends concerning Ple[79] and his sister. "Ple and his sister Simei

[76] Stevens, iii. 112f.; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 4, 191, 226.
[77] F. A. Swettenham, "On the Native Races of the Straits Settlements and Malay States," *J. A. I.*, 1887, xvi. 228; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 187, 202.
[78] Stevens, iii. 109, 132f.; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 210 ff. One tradition (S. and B., 210) makes Ta Ponn the creator, while another has Kari. Different clans have variations.
[79] Stevens, iii, 100 ff.; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 178, 213.

resembled the Semang in outward appearance. They lived in the Jelmol Mountains in Perak. Under them were the Semang chiefs. Simei gave light to the fireflies. They could keep her company by night when she visited sick women. In those days when men saw the firefly messengers, they withdrew to the jungle. Since Ple and Simei disappeared, the fireflies have been looking for them among the bushes. They must therefore never be harmed. It was Simei who invented the designs which serve as charms against illness. These are copied on the women's combs."

Animal myths are naturally common among people who see so many creatures of the jungle. For obvious reasons the elephant and the tiger are favourite hiding-places for the souls of deceased chiefs. The Semang fancy that the elephant, the stick-insect, and the tapir are unfriendly, and they give the reason in the following tale.[80] "At first the elephant had four big teeth but no trunk. He used to annoy the Semang by stealing fruit out of their baskets, and even uprooting the flowers that Ple had planted. The Semang therefore begged Ple to aid them. He turned himself into a stick-insect and perched on a twig. When the elephant came to feed on the fruit of this tree, he knocked out the elephant's lower teeth and caught him by the nose. The elephant drew back, so his nose stretched into a trunk. The elephant then met the tapir. The tapir made remarks about the elephant's appearance. The elephant forgot that he had lost some teeth. He tried to bite the tapir, which dodged behind a rock. The elephant tried to dislodge the rock. He used his tusks like a boar. The tapir compared him to a pig. At this the elephant stretched out his trunk and caught the tapir by the nose. He flung him down on the ground, and said if he met him again on the hills he would tear his head off. Since then the tapir has stayed by the river's brink."

[80] Stevens, iii. 137; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 188, 221.

Another animal myth [81] runs thus: "The tiger and the snake had always been good friends. One day Ple drove off a tiger that was about to attack a man. The tiger became the enemy of Ple and the mistletoe, and tried to destroy the mistletoe. The snake became the ally of the tiger. But the rhinoceros-bird seized the snake by the nape of the neck and flew away with him. Ple came. The bird began to speak, and the snake fell to the ground. Upon its head Ple put his foot. He then ordered the bird to drive away the tiger. It was Ple's foot that made the broad hood of the snake. The marks in its neck came from the bird's beak. Hence the rhinoceros-bird now kills the snake when he sees it. When he sees a tiger, he makes a loud noise to scare it away. That is why the feathers of this bird are used for tiger-arrows (as charms)."

The Semang view of the future state [82] may fitly conclude this series of mythic tales. "The souls of the old and the wise go to the Land of Fruit-trees in the west. In order to reach it they must first cross a bridge—the fallen trunk of a huge tree. This tree-bridge would be easy to cross, but at the further end sits a lofty figure. This image has only one nostril, big eyeless sockets, two immense tusks in each jaw, and long long finger-nails crossed upon its breast. This gruesome demon scares many of the poor souls. Down they fall into a vast boiling lake up whose sides no one can climb. Here for three long agonizing years they swim in despair, clutching at the sides. If it is his will, the Chief of the Land of Fruit-trees lowers his feet. If they catch his great toe, he pulls them out. If the old and the wise are buried in trees, their souls may fly over the head of the terrifying figure."

[81] Stevens, iii. 134; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 222.

[82] Stevens, iii. 117, 122 (another version); Skeat and Blagden, ii. 207, 217. The Semang idea of the future has perhaps a tinge of alien colour, notably the allusions to an idol, a boiling lake, and three years. Truly aboriginal is the pathetic Pangan invocation at death (S. and B., i. 13, ii. 91), "Think of the departed ancestors alone; the living friends will find food."

CHAPTER VI

PRIMITIVE LITERATURE OF AMERICA

1. Fuegians

Pneumonia would slay even the hardiest of our collegiate or professional athletes, if they ventured to dwell among the Fuegians [1] of South America in aboriginal costume. In spite of English missionary efforts the white man's ailments are gradually destroying these hardy clans, that for centuries [2] have resisted the bleak stormy climate of Tierra del Fuego and the smaller islands. There is no definite form of government. Age, sagacity, or daring gives leadership of the small nomadic groups, and the word of the elders is law. By day the men build canoes, or hunt with skill both land and sea creatures, employing dogs to assist in the chase. By night they often go out to catch sleeping sea-birds. Among the duties of the women are the gathering of shellfish, diving for sea-eggs, and the making of baskets. Some of the Fuegian men and women paint [3] both face and body in a variety of colours and designs. They marry early in life, and the bride is carried off [4] by her love-smitten admirer.

a. Dances

The Fuegians know nothing about musical instru-

[1] L. Darapski, "Fuegians," *Bol. Inst. Geog. Arg.*, 1889, x. 276; J. W. Marsh, *Rays of Sunlight in Darkest South America*, 3rd ed., London, 1890, 9, 29; C. Nordenskjold, "Das Feuerland," *Geog. Zeit.*, Leipzig, 1896, ii. 663; A. H. Keane, *The World's Peoples*, New York, 1908, 301.

[2] The shell-heaps suggest great length of time. Cf. R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. Adventure and Beagle*, 3 vols., London, 1839, ii. 234 (C. Darwin).

[3] Fitzroy, i. 54 (P. P. King); W. P. Snow, *A Two Years' Cruise off Tierra del Fuego*, 2 vols., London, 1857, i. 338; G. Beve, *Globus*, Braunschweig, xliii. 157; R. Young, *From Cape Horn to Panama*, London, 1900, 8, 61.

[4] Fitzroy, ii. 182. Cf. Westermarck, 383 ff.

ments. Their power of mimicry,[5] however, is remarkable. They can imitate the sounds of strange languages, and will repeat a dozen words with accuracy. Gestures are imitated in the most amusing way, for they are keen observers. Their mimetic art reaches its height in a sort of religious play. The Fuegian drama, known as the Kina,[6] possesses the speech, music, and action to which we ourselves are accustomed. Plays of this kind are traditional in form and some of them appear to have a religious or superstitious motive. The men alone are the performers, though in bygone days the parts were taken by women.

b. Songs

In highly developed languages cadence has diminished significance; but originally, as in China to-day, the same word might have several different meanings, the distinction in meaning depending upon conventional cadence. When the emotions are stirred, all of us lean toward vocal modulation. This speech-song, or singing in speech, is not uncommon among the Fuegians.[7] Their speaking voice is pitched in the note G sharp, and when asking for gifts it ends with "the semitone A."

These South American aborigines have a number of solos and choral songs. Each group has a medicine man or doctor-wizard,[8] and the name of his magic chant is Aona. There are also songs of revenge as well as festal choruses. The Telania is the lamentation for the dead.[9] The mourners tear their hair,

[5] Fitzroy, i. 77, iii. 229; G. P. Despard, *Hope Deferred, Not Lost*, London, 1852, 165; Snow, i. 327.

[6] P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, Paris, 1891, vii. 253, 337, 376f. (initiatory rites). Cf. *Globus*, xlvii. 332. E. Reclus, (*The Earth and its Inhabitants* [South America], New York, 1894, vol. i. 447) avers that the Fuegians never dance.

[7] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 5 vols., London, 1845, i. 125.

[8] Fitzroy, i. 178; T. Bridges, "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders," *A Voice of South America*, London, 1866, xiii. 207.

[9] Fitzroy, i. 179; Bridges, 207.

beat their breasts, and join in a wailing chant which ends about sunrise with a low growling noise. There is no weeping among the performers, who are mostly men. Some of the traditional mythic songs [10] have definite names, mostly those of familiar seafowl.

c. Mythic Tales

Through fear of spirits the Fuegians do not permit the utterance of a dead man's name, and the kin-folk who have borne the same name must change it. Naturally it is at night that fear of the spirits is greatest. The Yahgan tribe believe in Walapatu, which some regard as ghosts, though others look upon them as hostile prowlers of the Alakaluf tribe. The Yahgans appear to have a vague belief in Kachpik,[11] an epithet which is applied to evil demons of the forest as well as to any erratic or evil person. The name Hanuch is applied to hairless monsters with an eye at the back of the head or to wild insane persons who haunt the forests alone. The Fuegians also find significance in omens and dreams.[12] Here is a mythic tale which they tell in a low tone of voice and with an air of mystery.

The Black Demon [13]

"Yaccy-mo is a black giant. He is always wandering about the woods and mountains. When he comes near, you cannot escape. He knows all that men do and say. When men do wrong, he sends storms of hail and snow."

[10] Bridges, 208; Hyades and Deniker, vii. 377. Cf. Reclus, 447; T. Child, *Spanish-American Republics*, New York, 1891, 246 (soft nasal lullaby of the women).

[11] Hyades and Deniker, 253; F. Alcock, *Trade and Travel in South America*, London, 1903, 305 (alludes to "Kushpick, their god;"); Keane, *World's Peoples*, 306 (no evidence that they worship either gods or demons).

[12] Fitzroy, ii. 191.

[13] *Ibid.*, ii. 180, 190; J. G. Garson, "On the Inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego," *J. A. I.*, 1886, xv. 145. In European apostolic legends the devil often appears in the guise of an Ethiopian.

The Ona tribesmen seem to have a dim conception of another spirit.

Yerri Yappon [14]

"Yerri Yappon is a kindly being. From him comes all good. When we are in trouble or great danger, we call upon him. He hears."

2. Botocudos or Burus

The Botocudos [15] dwell mainly between the Rio Pardo and the Rio Doce in southeastern Brazil. They are the most typical of the Ges or Tapuya [16] tribes. The Botocudos have all the characteristics of an ancient primitive tribe—long arms, short legs, small deep-set eyes, retreating foreheads, and projecting lower jaws. Indeed in several respects they are not unlike the Fuegians.[17] The forests they haunt in a state of nudity, and often their dwellings are temporary shelters of brushwood. They make no pottery, build no canoes, and are restrained from cannibalism only through fear of the Brazilian government. Excellent hunters [18] and fighters with the bow and arrow, the men have usually but one wife. The tie between parent and offspring is not strong. Between the different clans there is no common bond of union. Communities of from ten to twenty families have fixed

[14] Fitzroy, ii. 190. The sneezing ritual of the Akkas (Powell-Cotton, 128) suggests the same sort of creed.

[15] Botocudo means barrel-bung, an epithet applied by the Portuguese in allusion to the wooden labrets (lip-plugs) and ear-blocks with which the Burus disfigure themselves. Most anthropologists have adopted this tribal epithet, though the tribesmen call themselves Burus. The name Aimores (Keane) or Aymores (Deniker) is sometimes given to them.

[16] Martius first coined the name Ges for linguistic reasons, while Tapuya in the Tupi language merely signifies savage. Cf. H. von Ihering, "Os Guayanas e Caingangs de S. Paulo," *Revista do Mus. Paul.*, S. Paulo, 1902–3, vi. 23ff. (affiliates these tribes with the Ges). But see Payne, ii. 430 (note).

[17] K. A. Tolsner, *Die Colonie Leopoldina in Brasilien*, Göttingen, 1860, 65; J. R. Peixoto, "Novos estudos craniol. sobra Botocudos," *Archiv. do Mus. Nacion.*, Rio de Janeiro, 1884, vi. 205.

[18] R. F. Burton, "The Primordial Inhabitants of Minas Geraes, etc.," *J. A. I.*, 1873, ii. 409 f.; A. H. Keane, "On the Botocudos," *J. A. I.*, 1884, xiii. 207.

hunting-grounds. The headman [19] of each horde exercises but little authority, and the office is not hereditary. Unlike the South African Kwai and the Australian blackfellows, the Botocudos have not reached the stage of pictorial art, but in former days they decorated their light yellowish-brown bodies with red and black stains in simple designs.

There are two musical instruments,[20] a reed flute which is usually played by the women, and a small bamboo nose-flute.

a. Dances

The communal rejoicing of the Botocudos is held round the camp-fire. It is not difficult to understand the interest excited by the vision of the flame, which is born of the spark so hard to obtain and maintain. It is this that makes the fire the focus of the early community and constitutes the domestic hearth the symbol of the family. As fire keeps off the nocturnal beasts of prey, so it is a centre round which the Botocudos can rally against the ghosts that wander in the night.

When the stars begin to look earthward, alternate men and women form a ring in order to engage in the choric dance.[21] They are about to celebrate a successful hunt or a recent victory. With each dancer's arms encircling the necks of his two neighbours all begin to turn to the right or to the left. Advancing one foot each of the horde stamps with rhythmical decision, while the other foot is dragged after its fellow. Now with craned necks they huddle closer and closer; again the circle is widened. To the measure of their stamping they chant a monotonous chorus over and over.

[19] M. A. P. (Prinz von) Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien*, 2 vols., Frankfort-a-M., 1820, i. 15; C. F. Hartt, *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil*, Boston, 1870, 595 (some groups are tillers of the soil); Keane, *J. A. I.*, 207.

[20] Neuwied, ii. 41; Hartt, 592 (a speaking trumpet, not a musical instrument, made from the hide of the great armadillo's tail); Keane, *J. A. I.*, 206; P. Ehrenreich, "Ueber die Botocudos, etc.," *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, 1887, xix. 19.

[21] Ehrenreich, 30 ff. Cf. Hartt, 601.

b. Songs

As in the case of the Fuegians the Botocudos at times employ a sort of song-speech.[22] When they earnestly desire anything, their speech becomes a droning chant. As is the case with all undeveloped speech, their vocabulary is largely onomatopoetic mingled with gesture. The women especially are fond of introducing new reduplicate forms[23] into their songs and lamentations. In some degree the nasal sounds of their language are moulded by the constant use of lip-plugs. To what extent does this mutilation affect their vocal music?

The singing of the men[24] resembles an inarticulate war-cry of three or four notes, alternately high and low. A deep breath is drawn from the chest, while they put the left arm over the head and thrust a finger into each ear, especially when they wish to bawl more loudly. Less unpleasant is the singing of the women. The Botocudos never sing without dancing, never dance without singing, and there is but one word to express both song and dance.

There is but one traditional poem sung upon festive occasions, and the text[25] is:

Calanī—ā—ā,
Calani—ā—hā.

We have already noticed the one-word poem of the Kwai, and here is a two-word poem of the Botocudos. It is so ancient that the meaning of the text has been lost. Archaic words are preserved in verse, though colloquial speech undergoes change after change.

[22] C. P. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, Leipzig, 1867, 330.

[23] Keane, *J. A. I.*, 209. Wat is river; but wat—u—u—u is great—great—great—river, or sea. The language is full of such devices. Cf. Hartt, 603 (ong-ong, to sing).

[24] Neuwied, ii. 41; Ehrenreich, 33.

[25] Hartt, 601; Ehrenreich, 33.

Five specimens of impromptu songs [26] will indicate the nature of their more ephemeral verses.

1. "Hunting—it was good.
Hunting—it was good."

2. "We have killed a beast.
We have killed a beast."

3. "Now have we something to eat.
Now have we something to eat."

4. "Flesh—it is good.
Flesh—it is good."

5. "The headman—he fears no one.
The headman—he fears no one."

These improvisations deal with current events, and when one person composes and sings a song, it is answered by the rest in chorus. Dowered with patience in iteration they keep up a long sing-song in which the same simple line is repeated. The last of the foregoing chants is interesting as a specimen of the incipient epic or heroic lay.

c. Mythic Tales

The Botocudos have neither priests nor medicine-men, and they worship no superior being. So far as their mythology is known, it bears a certain resemblance to that of the Fuegians. Two tales must serve to illustrate the type.

The Black Demon [27]

"The greatest of all evil spirits is Janchon. This devil comes in the guise of a black man. He visits the camps. Sometimes he sleeps by the fire and then goes away. All who look upon him are sure to die. This demon beats dogs to death with sticks. He also kills children."

[26] Ehrenreich, 32 f., 61.
[27] Hartt, 599.

The Moon [28]

"Tauru is the name of Moon. Moon does bad things. He sometimes falls upon earth. Hilltops he crushes; he floods plains. Many people he destroys. He sends thunderstorms and famine. During storm or eclipse we shoot arrows upward. Thus we scare off the demons of the air."

3. Seri or Kun-kaak

In North America the most belated tribe is that of the Seri [29] whose main haunt is Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California. Their hunting, fighting, and gorging habits are at times the same as those of the carnivorous animals, and in this respect they are at the zoömimic stage [30] of evolution. They resemble some of the Australian tribes in not having completed the conquest of fire, and as a rule they eat all food uncooked.[31] Deer and antelope are torn by the Seri with teeth and nails, assisted only by edgeless cobble-stones picked up by chance. They are thus mainly in the protolithic [32] or earliest period of the stone age. The Seri are the best sprinters and long-distance runners [33] known anywhere, and they are the tallest [34]

[28] Hartt, 599; Keane, *J. A. I.*, 208.

[29] Seri, meaning spry or quick in movement, is an epithet applied originally by tribal neighbours. They call themselves Kun-kaak, a term which signifies Our-Great-Motherfolk-Here.

[30] W J McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, Washington, 1896, xvii. Pt. i. 250, 252. Cf. F. H. Cushing, "The Development of Form and Function in Implements," *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1897, x. 325.

[31] The Seri do not scruple to eat carrion, though they are not known to be clay-eaters like some of the Botocudo children (Hartt, 581). The bibliography of clay-eating is extensive. Cf. E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906, 552 (earth-eating, mostly by women); G. Stefanini, "Terre eduli esistenti nel Museo Nazionale d'Antropologia di Firenze," *A. p. l'Antrop.*, Firenze, 1907, xxxvii. 89ff. (known to the ancient Latins and still in vogue in certain districts of Europe and other lands). The writer has in his possession a kind of clay that is sometimes eaten as a titbit by poor people in one district of Kentucky, and a similar custom has been noted among the aborigines of Canada, Florida, Mexico, Brazil, Siberia, and West Australia.

[32] McGee, 153, 234. Cf. M. Verworn, "Die Einteilung der steinzeitlichen Kulturstufen," *Korr-Bl. d. D. Ges. f. Anthrop.*, München, 1906, xxxvii. 19.

[33] McGee, 125, 149. With a load on their shoulders they skim over the desert faster than horsemen can follow.

[34] It has been seriously urged that they are Dean Swift's Brobdingnagians. Cf. T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, 1898, i. 149 (cited by McGee, 53).

of North American tribes. The coyote-dogs of the camp are less despised than the people of an alien race.[35] The tribe is divided into the Turtle clan, the Pelican clan, and the Rattlesnake clan. Each clan is under the protection of a totem or animal god. The totemic feature of the social organisation is revealed in the face-painting designs,[36] which are hereditary in the female line. Lineage is traced through the mothers, and the clan-mother is the most important person in the group. The male leader is prominent only in warfare, while on other occasions he has less power than his female relatives.

a. Dances

At any uncanny sight or sound the Seri huddle together for mutual aid like gregarious animals, and their thinking is largely collective rather than individual.[37] Among deliberate gatherings the most significant are those that call forth the festal dances. Four kinds of dances [38] are alluded to by visitors. The mask dances [39] are mimetic. The performers wore as a headdress the antlered head of the mule deer, the deer-head masks and deer-hoof rattles being worn to symbolise and to invoke power and speed. They have also been known to don puma or jaguar masks as symbols that typify and impart both strength and courage.

Of the other ceremonial dances the most important seem to be those that are associated with adolescence. Cords of human hair and of snake-skin are used as necklaces and belts, while the maidens' dances [40] are

[35] McGee, 115, 130, 154. Cf. H. S. Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, New York, 1875, 65.
[36] McGee, 165, 167, 271.
[37] *Ibid.*, 154f. The Seri have a well-formed capacious skull. Cf. W. G. Miller, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Law*, London, 1884, 277ff. (freeing of the individual from tribal fetters).
[38] R. W. H. Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico*, London, 1829, 298; McGee, 10, 11, 277.
[39] Hardy, 298; McGee, 172, 233.
[40] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North*

accompanied by the rhythmic beating of improvised drums. As darkness is the time when the spirits of the dead may return to work mischief, the light of the new moon [41] is also the signal for festivities of magic significance. Finally, at the time of ripening of cactus fruits the Seri have some sort of ceremonial feast, which appears to be the precursor of those harvest festivals that are celebrated by more advanced peoples all over the globe.

b. Songs

The building chant, the festal chorus, and the lament are the three known forms of Seri song. When placing and fitting the beams and tie-sticks of their temporary homes, the women sing a chant [42] which is usually led by the eldest matron of the group. This simple rune marks the initial stage in the development of that dignified ritual which is witnessed among some of the barbaric tribes, an exalted survival of which may still be seen in the corner-stone ceremonies of Freemasonry.

The Seri also sing ceremonial choruses or incantations [43] to which they ascribe magical potency, but their most elaborate chorus is the tribal dirge.[44] When a clan-mother has struck the trail to that distant land to which many of us look for enlightenment, fetishes, weapons, clothes, food, and a jar of water are buried with the body, and a cairn is raised over the spot. Then follows a choral crooning that mingles night after night with the sibilants of the leaves or the moan

America, 5 vols., New York, 1882, iii. 584, 589; McGee, 10. Cf. J. G. Bourke, "The Medicine-men of the Apache," 9th *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, Washington, 1892, 462 (nubility dance). Amerindian parallels are by no means rare.

[41] J. F. Velasco, *Noticias Estadisticas del Estado de Sonora*, Mexico, 1850, 131 ff.; C. A. Pajeken, *Reise-Erinnerungen und Abenteuer aus der neuen Welt in ethnographischen Bildern*, Bremen, 1861, 98f.; Bancroft, 587; McGee, 11, 261.

[42] McGee, 223f. Cf. *Numbers*, xxi. 17f (song of the well).

[43] Hardy, 281ff.

[44] McGee, 12, 115, 292. Cf. J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of all Nations*, Washington, 1891, 459.

of the waves as they are hurled on the rugged crags. Throwing earth and ashes on their heads, beating and bruising their faces, breasts and arms, the clan lament sounds louder and louder until exhaustion finally leads to slumber. Besides the ceremonial mourning for the clan-mother, the survivors wail by night after the death of any matron or marriageable maiden. When opportunity offers, the braves who have died in battle are also honoured by ululations in the darkness. Starting in the immediate family of the deceased the inarticulate elegy is chanted mainly by the women, but as the excitement grows, the clan joins in the cries and sobbings until the entire tribe of Seriland is carried away by the chorus of despair and revenge. Losing control of themselves under the self-hypnotism of the death-chant they sometimes seize water-jars and weapons, and race for miles in any direction that whim leads them.

c. Mythic Tales

The Seri have a number of mystic potencies and zoic deities. The Pelican, Turtle, Moon, and Sun seem to lead their thearchy. The mythological Pelican is the chief creative deity of Seri legend. Its living representative is the protector of one of the clans, while in turn it is protected at certain seasons by taboos. As an article of dress the pelican pelt is a talisman. This is the mythic tale of the Pelican.[45] The Ancient of Pelicans is a bird of rare wisdom and song. He first raised Isla Tassne above the waters. He next raised Tiburon and the rest of the world.

The Turtle[46] is the totem of another clan. The Turtle of all turtles is a sea-monster. In the beginning he helped the Ancient of Pelicans to make the

[45] McGee, 11, 191, 231. Cf. H. C. March, "The Mythology of Wise Birds," *J. A. I.*, 1898, xxvii. 209.
[46] McGee, 278.

world. He pushed from below. His living representative is now very good food.

The Seri women make crude distorted animal effigies [47] of baked clay. These seem to be fetishes.

4. Eskimo or Innuit

The Eskimo,[48] or Innuit as they call themselves, inhabit practically the entire coast of Arctic America as well as a small part of northeastern Asia. They are without political organisation, though each community has some one to whom deference may be shown by reason of age, sagacity, or heroism. The shaman or wizard wields considerable influence at festal gatherings, while the Alaskan Eskimo have also female conjurers or witches. Fishers and hunters they are inclined to be good-natured, yet among the Central Eskimo blood-feuds [49] are sometimes handed down to a succeeding generation. The Eskimo have a more advanced culture than hunting tribes in other parts of the world. This is due partly to long contact with the Scandinavian [50] traders and missionaries, and partly to commerce with European and American sealers, whalers, and explorers. Like some of the Australian blacks the Eskimo have a knowledge of map-drawing, and they show much taste in their carvings upon implements [51] of bone and wood. In pictography they surpass both the Kwai and the Australian tribesmen. The women tattoo the face, and on festive occasions the Alaskan hunters stripe one an-

[47] Hardy, 294f.; McGee, 185.

[48] W. E. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, etc., London, 1824, 449; Sir J. Ross, *Narrative of a Second Voyage*, etc., London, 1835, app. I.; J. Rae, *Narrative of an Expedition*, etc., London, 1850, 35; Capt. McClintock, *The Voyage of the Fox in Arctic Seas*, London, 1859, 230; C. F. Hall, *Arctic Researches*, etc., New York, 1866, 566; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, vi. 414.

[49] H. W. Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, Wien, 1881, 70; Boas, 582, 668.

[50] Hall, 49f. (Danish Greenland); E. B. Tylor, "Old Scandinavian Civilisation among the Modern Esquimaux," *J. A. I.*, 1884, xiii. 348; Boas, 466.

[51] T. D. Bolles, "A Preliminary Catalogue of the Eskimo Collection," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1887, 335; Boas, 648.

other's faces [52] with black paint, making a double cross upon back and chest. Many of the men, like the Botocudos, wear labrets [53] or lip-plugs. Hunting, cooking, and eating taboos are by no means unknown.

a. Dances

The chief dances take place at the formal festivals, though there are additional dances, some for diversion and others purely symbolic. All the regular festivals are dramaturgic representations of a semireligious nature, but they serve incidentally to illumine the gloom of the long winter nights and to promote friendly intercourse between the people of villages far and near. Dance, song, and story draw the people closer to one another and to the cosmopolitan realm of art. Though details vary with the locality, yet everywhere special articles of dress or adornment are worn at certain parts of the performance. In the western districts [54] headdresses, masks, and rattle mittens are worn, the mittens being shaken by the dancers in time to the music of the drum or tambourine.

During the Bladder Festival of the Alaskans the dances are mainly narrative pantomimes. The elder chants a few words of a song in time to the drumming, and his words are the theme of a refrain in which every one joins. During this alternation of solo and refrain, the young men mimic the movements of some bird, beast, or fish, and they readily imitate their cries, the rhythmic footfalls of the young men blending with the notes of the tambourines and the general chorus. Sometimes a man in an obscure corner of the communal house pulls a string attached to the overhanging bladders, so that they oscillate in apparent

[52] E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xviii. 381.
[53] W. H. Dall, "On Masks, Labrets, etc.," *Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, iii. 77. Cf. *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.*, 1877, 586 ("Esquimaux d'Asie").
[54] J. Murdoch, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," *Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, ix. 365.

approval of the rites in their honour. While they are being swung, four[55] men execute a curious dance, which begins with a "pecking, jerking motion from side to side and forward," the dancers moving slowly in front of the bladders. The dance then becomes a sort of oblique gallop, and the arms are tossed up and down so as to give the body a jumping motion. First one leg is thrown up and then the other, followed by quick hops sidewise and long jumps forward, all keeping perfect time to the drumming. This is known as the seal and walrus dance.[56] Humorous speeches are delivered between the songs and dances.

Juvenile Dances

The children have dances and songs of their own, one of the most remarkable of which is the choral dance to the aurora.[57] Each dancer clenches his fists, and with bent elbows strikes them against the sides of his body. With the right foot he stamps vigorously, springing up and down with the left knee. In time with the dance they sing a song,[58] the second line of each stanza being the familiar refrain they have so often heard from the lips of their parents. When the lights of the aurora borealis are flashing in the heavens, the children often keep on dancing and singing till far into the night.

b. Songs

Some Eskimo songs are impromptu, while others are

[55] Four is the mystic or sacred number of the Eskimo communes. Cf. Nelson, 382, 387.
[56] *Ibid.*, 387.
[57] Murdoch, 375, 389.
[58] The first of the three stanzas is:

"Aurora ke, aurora ke,
A yana, yana, ya,
Hai, hwi, hwi, hwi!"

The Greenland nature-song mentioned by H. Rink (*Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh, 1875, 68) is too like poetry of the schools to have much value. Could it have been composed apart from Danish influence?

traditional. Almost every man has his own air and his own text, and occasionally one of these becomes popular and may be preserved for some time. The metre is regulated by syllables [59] rather than accent, and phrasal repetitions are frequent. The songs at times resemble Gregorian chants in retaining the same note during a series of syllables, but in every case rhythm is more important than melody.

In summer the dance-songs are chanted in the open air, but in winter the eastern Eskimo gather in a large igloo or snow-house.[60] In the middle about five feet from the floor are the sputtering lamps [61] resting on a pillar of snow. Next the wall are the matrons, the maidens in a circle within, and the men sit in the innermost circle. The children are in two groups near the door. Stripped to the waist one man steps forward, stoops for the drum, and begins to dance and sing. He sings an impromptu solo as he dances, while the women join in an unvarying chorus whose words are:

"Amna aya." [62]

The simple sea-songs take their rhythm from the stroke of the oars of the big umiak or the swing of the paddle of the smaller kaiak. In sledge journeys and on other occasions the Eskimo compose extemporaneous songs of two or three words. Here is the impromptu effort [63] of a Malemut hunter.

"A—un—a—yai ya—i—yae
Un—a—i—ya iya

[59] Boas, 651f.

[60] The construction material differs in the west, but each village has a communal house where all social and religious ceremonies take place. It is the sleeping-place of the western men, and it is here that the old men gather and repeat the traditions of their fathers. Boas, 600; Nelson, 285.

[61] T. Simpson, "Arctic Papers," *Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1875, 236; F. Schwatka, "The Implements of the Igloo," *Science*, 1884, iv. 85; W. Hough, "The Lamp of the Eskimo," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1896, 1027.

[62] Parry, 542; E. Sabine, "Die Eskimos auf der Westküste von Groenland," *Journ. f. Land und Seer.*, Berlin, xxxiii. 201; Boas, 602. The Point Barrow refrain is "A yana, yana, a yana, ya." When humming or singing to themselves, these are the only words they use. So great is the solace derived from these meaningless words that men have been known to wake up and sing when others were asleep. Cf. Murdoch, 388.

[63] Nelson, 349.

Ai—yae—ig—i—a
I want
Yae—ya—i—a
Un—a—i—ya—i ya—ai
Very much
Un—i—yae—yae
To see
I—yae—i—ya
The deer-horns make," etc.

Only the words translated into English are intelligible even to the singer. The melody is more alluring than the thought.

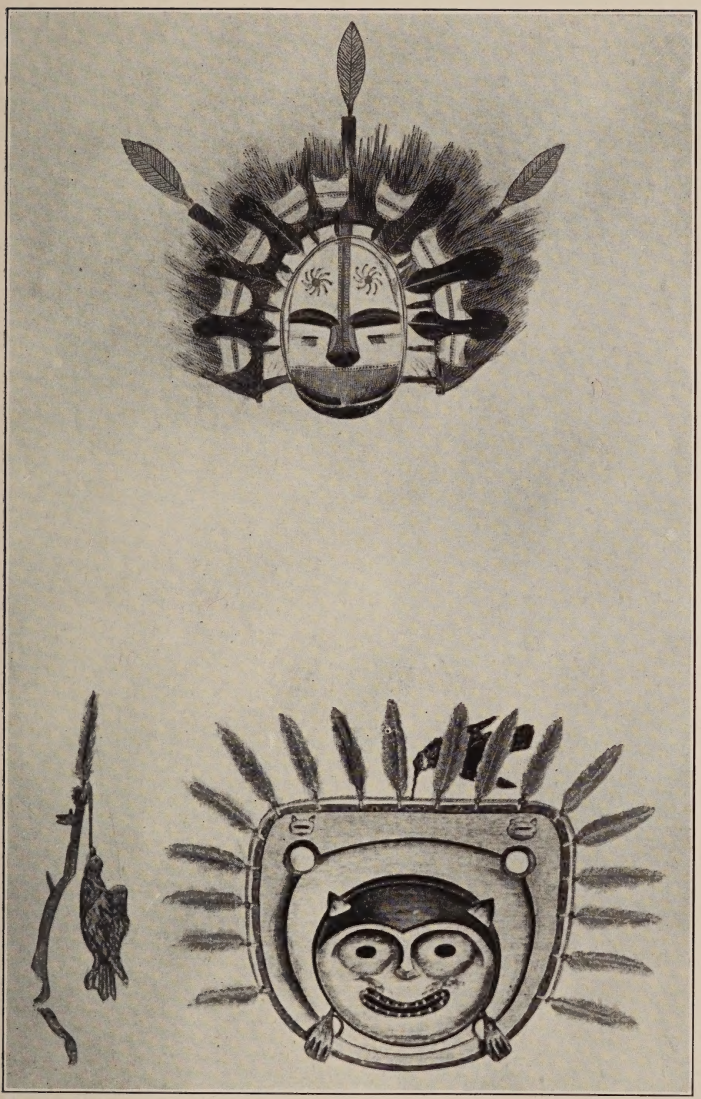
Satiric songs [64] are greatly enjoyed by the Eskimo. A Greenlander called Kukouk was not much of a hunter, but he tried to be very friendly with the whites. One of his comrades composed a jeering song [65] which runs thus:

"Bad little Kukouk, imakaya haiya
(Chorus) Imakaya ha.
He takes care of himself, imakaya haiya
(Chorus) Imakaya ha.
He wants to travel from his country, imakaya haiya
(Chorus) Imakaya ha.
With a great, great ship, imakaya haiya
(Chorus) Imakaya ha.
For the pretty little woman," etc.

SONG-DUEL

The western Eskimo have songs of ridicule similar to the nith-songs of Greenland, and they are said to have been in common use before white men [66] were seen. When two men have a serious disagreement they do not always fight, nor can they appeal to a formal court of justice. With drums in their hands they appear before the village community and engage in a song-duel.[67] Each hurls sarcastic verses at the

[64] Boas, 649; F. Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, 2 vols., London, 1890, ii. 344.
[65] H. Rink, *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*, Copenhagen, 1871, ii. 138; id., *Tales and Traditions*, 66; Tylor, *J. A. I.*, 354. Rink describes these caustic songs as *nidvise* or nith-songs.
[66] Nelson, 347.
[67] H. Egede, *Det Gamle Gronlands nye Perlustration eller Naturel-Histoire*, Copenhagen, 1741, cap. xv.; D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland*, 2 vols., London, 1820, i. 164; Rink, *Tales*, etc., 66; Tylor, *J. A. I.*, 354.



Courtesy of Bur. Amer. Ethn. *Dall.*

FESTAL FACE MASKS OF THE ESKIMO.

other. The winner is the man whose invective calls forth the louder laughter from the crowd at the expense of his rival. Here is an example[68] between each line of which comes an inarticulate refrain. Savdlat opens with the metrical challenge:

"The South, the South, O the South, over there——
Once was I on the middle coast; I met Pulangitsissok;
Plump was he and strong from eating halibut.
The people of the middle coast know not how to talk;
Ashamed are they of their own speech.
Moreover, they are stupid;
Their language never is the same.
Some speak as in the North, and others like the South;
Their speech we cannot understand."

The response comes from Pulangitsissok in these lines:

"Time was when Savdlat wished that I was a good kaiakman,
That I could take a load aboard my kaiak.
Years ago he wished that I should take a load aboard my kaiak.
That was when Savdlat tied to mine his kaiak—it might upset;
Then could he take a load aboard his kaiak,
When I had to tow you and you bawled pitifully——
You were in fear.
Almost capsized, you clung to my kaiak-ropes."

BOAT SONG

In the great western festival to the memory of the dead occurs a narrative chorus[69] relating to the perils of a voyage. Here is a translation of the Eskimoan text:

"We will sing a song.
We will go down the current.
The waves will rise;
The waves will fall.
The dogs will growl at us."

THE MOURNER'S DUET[70]

At one stage of the festal dance-songs, the western men and women adorn themselves with fillets of wolf-

[68] Rink, *Tales*, etc., 67.
[69] Nelson, 367.
[70] *Ibid.*, 374.

skin or ermine, and sometimes they wear the heads of birds or beasts as totemic insignia. The text varies only so far as to suit individual cases. With passionate quavering voices a withered crone and her husband chanted this lament for their lost ones:

"My children, where are you?
Ai—ya—ya—yai.
Come back to us, our children,
We are lonely and sad.
Ai—ya—ya—yai.
For our children are gone;
Those of our friends are here.
Ai—ya—ya—yai.
Come back, nephew;
Come back, we miss you.
Ai—ya—ya—yai.
Come back to us, our lost ones,
We have presents for you.
Ai—ya—ya—yai.

The shaman has special incantations,[71] in which he employs words in a symbolic sense. Other words are archaic, the purpose in each case being to increase the awe of his auditors through mysterious sounds. The lamps burn low, and the wizard is barely visible in the gloom. His magic songs can exorcise the supernatural beings by whom disease is caused. With his nature deities he communes in a broken falsetto voice, because the vocal change can better reach the comprehension and favour of the unseen deities.

c. Mythic Tales

The Central Tribes of Australia have the most elaborate ceremonies known in the hunting stage of culture, while the Eskimo[72] rank second. The Bladder Festival is held in honour of the disembodied spirits of the animals that have been slain during the year.

[71] Boas, 594, 604; Murdoch, 422; Nelson, 309, 429. Sometimes the wizard steals and kills a new-born infant, keeping the mummy as an amulet or fetish.

[72] The Bladder Festival of the Alaskan Eskimo has been known to last seventeen days (Nelson, 379, 391), whereas the Australian ceremonies last three months.

Each hunter brings the inflated bladders of all the seals, whales, walrus, and white bears that he has killed, and each of these miniature balloons contains the shade or *inua* of the slain [73] animal. After a series of dramatic performances these relics of the slain animals are thrust into the sea, and the shades enter the bodies of unborn animals of their kind. In short, the most elaborate ceremony known to the Eskimo has for its aim an increase of the food supply. Next in importance are the mortuary feasts [74] held in order to feed and clothe the shades of the dead.

The Eskimo mythology is unusually rich. There is no belief in one supreme being, but the spirit world is occupied by ghosts of men and other creatures that have died. There are also supernatural beings that exist without any central authority.[75] Thus the leaderless organisation of the invisible world is largely a reflection of everyday social life.

The Eskimo regard their own tribe as but one among other animal tribes, with whose plans they must reckon. Most of their myths have been handed down in unchanged form, and the many mythic tales are repeated word for word with conventional gestures [76] and inflections of the voice. In a more or less dramatic manner the words are intoned to imitate the different characters. Many tales begin with a musical phrase, and the recitation is rhythmic throughout. Thus the Eskimo have what may be called poetic prose. More wonderful still, they have real poems which are not sung [77] but recited.

Some of the mythic tales are based upon actual adventures, to which were gradually added fictitious

[73] Nelson, 380, 392.
[74] *Ibid.*, 363.
[75] J. Simpson, *Observations on the Western Eskimo*, London, 1875, 273; Rink, *Tales*, 29; Boas, 501; G. Holm, "Konebaads-Expeditionen til Gronlands Ostkyst," *Geog. Tidskrift*, Copenhagen, 1886, viii. 90; Murdoch, 427; Nelson, 382, 427.
[76] Boas, 648; Nelson, 450.
[77] Boas, 649.

elements. Others are stories invented by the shamans to show their power in dealing with the shades. The following[78] is a typical narrative of the Alaskan Eskimo.

The Red Bear

One fine summer evening on the beach waited Takuka[79] for the homecoming of Pitikhcholik. She was restless; he had been away much longer than usual on his recent hunting trips. He had told her that deer were now further back in the mountains, and seals far off at sea. After a time home went Takuka to her children; when she came out again, her husband was stowing away his kaiak.

Many things asked she him about his long stay. Peevishly he replied that he had been far out to sea; home he would not come without game. Before him she placed many kinds of food, cooked as he liked best; little he ate, and gloomy seemed he. His wife coaxed him to tell why so sad, and at last quoth he, "Must you know why I'm so sad? Hearken. I feel I am about to die, and the third day from now is the time." Takuka began to weep bitterly, but said he, "Cry not and make me unhappy while I am with you, but hear my last wishes. When I am dead, put my kaiak in the water and moor it to the shore; lay my paddle, spears, and lines in it; dress my body in the waterproof shirt and put me into the kaiak. Every evening for three days place fish, deer fat, and berries before my body that my *inua* may be satisfied. Promise you this?" She promised and wept in silence. Pitikhcholik left not the house again, and on the third day died he. Then Takuka cried very much, but did as she had been told. On the fourth morning when she went to the shore to lament as usual, the kaiak had

[78] Nelson, 467 ff.
[79] The Eskimo accent is penultimate.

vanished. Then she threw herself on the ground, and lay in her sorrow; her little ones remembered she, and went home.

Gathering berries one day she wandered far from home and came to the crest of a mountain; far away she saw puffs of smoke drifting upward. In time near the place came she, creeping softly to the verge of the hill that fell away sharply on one side to the sea. Near the water were three houses; from one came the smoke.

Quietly waited Takuka to see who the people were. Soon out came a woman, shading the eyes with one hand and looking out to sea; back to the house hurried she, calling to one within. At this out came two other women, and all went down to the water's edge, where they began to sing a love song as they danced upon the sand. Eagerly had Takuka watched these women and their handsome fur garments; but now the low music of a man's voice rising in song caught her ear and faster throbbed her heart. A man was urging his kaiak toward the shore, singing and playfully throwing his seal spear before him, picking it up as he passed.

The song Takuka knew to be the one that Pitikhcholik used to sing to her in the old days, and him the women met with happy cries. Was this indeed the husband whom she had mourned as dead? With the women went he into the house, and a strange fierce anger felt Takuka in her heart. On the hillside stood she, listening to the songs and laughter until far into the night.

In the morning Pitikhcholik bade the women farewell on the shore, and paddled out to sea, singing pleasantly. When he was out of sight, down came Takuka from the hillside, and the women were surprised asking many questions. They admired the tattooed lines on her face, which was lighter than theirs, and they were pleased with the shape of her

garments. Quoth one, "Very handsome are you with the lines on your face; much would I give if you teach me to make my face like yours." Then answered Takuka, "I will show you how, but it will hurt." "I care not for the pain," said the woman, "for I wish to be handsome as you." "Be it as you wish," said Takuka; "make a fire; fill a large clay pot with oil; when the oil boils, call me."

Back came the woman saying that the oil was ready. Into the house went Takuka and told her to kneel before the pot of boiling oil and bend her face over it. Takuka clutched her by the hair and thrust her face down into the hot oil and held it, saying, "There, you will always be beautiful now." Then laid she the body on the couch, and covering the face went back to the others, who asked if she had made their companion handsome. Takuka nodded her head.

Then said both women, "We too will make you gifts if you make us beautiful," and she consented. All went to the dead woman's house, and Takuka said to them "She sleeps now, and covered is her face so that nothing may break the charm." After this she slew the other women as she had slain the first, saying, "You too will be very pretty." She next made three crosses of sticks and placed them upright in the sand where the women had danced the evening before; upon them she placed the clothing of the dead. Then a red bearskin took she, and went back to hide among the rocks. Near came the hunter, singing as on the night before. He thought he saw his wives standing on the shore; but though he raised his song in praise of them, no answer gave they. He stopped his song in anger. Landing he hurried to the silent figures and then to the nearest house. There and at the second house he found nothing, but in the last he saw his wives lying dead, and Takuka heard his cries of sorrow.

From the house rushed Pitikhcholik, wailing with

grief, shouting in wild anger, "If bad spirits have done this, I fear them not. Let them come and try to work evil upon me." All was quiet. "If any evil shade, man or beast, has done this, let it come from its hiding place," he shouted, "and dare to face a man who will tear out its heart and drink its blood;[80] oh, miserable good-for-nothing!"

As if in answer, from the hillside came a deep growl, and he saw a red bear standing on its hind feet. This was Takuka, who had placed a flat stone on each side of her body to keep away arrow or spear, wrapping herself in the bearskin. The hunter thought she was really a bear and began calling vile names, while an arrow loosened he from his bow. The arrow struck one of the stones, and the bear turned its other side toward him. Again he shot a well-aimed arrow and again it fell harmless. Down the slope rushed the bear, and the hunter's spear, striking the bear's side, broke in his hands. Soon the bear had thrown him down, tearing out and eating his heart. Then the frenzy which had possessed Takuka left her. She tried to take off the bearskin, but it clung to her so that she could not.

Suddenly Takuka thought of her children, so taking her basket of berries she started for home. As she went along she began to be alarmed at her strange yearning for blood. Hurrying on, at last came she to the house. Asleep were the two children, and as soon as Takuka saw them, the blood desire overcame her, so that she tore them to pieces. After this she went out and wandered over the earth, eager to destroy all whom she met.

Up to that time red bears had been harmless, but Takuka filled them with her own rage, so that they have been savage ever since. Finally she reached

[80] Formerly when young men first engaged in battle they drank some of the blood and ate a piece of the heart of the first enemy they slew. This was supposed to add to their courage. Cf. Nelson, 328.

Kuskokwim river and was killed by a hunter, whose arrow found its way through a crack that had been made in one of the stones on her side.[81]

[81] All animals are believed to have changed from the original human-like being. *Ibid.*, 427.

CHAPTER VII

RHYTHM IN PRIMITIVE ART

In our review of the more typical oral poems and plays of the hunting tribes, we have been scanning æsthetic activities which, as we shall see, are more primitive than any in existence. How can we use these concrete examples as a basis for discovery of the sources of the dramatic and poetic habit? Evidently by singling out those features that are common to primitive literature everywhere. Now no element has met us so persistently as rhythm, the rhythm of mass dances and choral songs, culminating in a rhythm which lends a certain distinction to the recital of Eskimo mythic tales. We shall therefore strive to find out what rhythm is, and why it sways those manifestations of primitive art which in higher culture would be called drama, poetry, and prose.

Rhythm in the abstract is the flow of time in units of duration; it is measured flow. Usually it is defined as regular recurrence of stress or impulse. Even when we listen to the simultaneous tones of a chord, in the very act of discrimination each tone-stimulus loses its simultaneity and becomes one of a series. In æsthetics rhythm is periodic emphasis, whether it be in decorative pattern or in dance, in music or in poetry.

Rhythm, like any other phenomenon, may be considered from two standpoints,[1] the impersonal or objective and the personal or subjective. Objectively it is looked upon[2] as a movement in time with

[1] Cf. H. Siebeck, *Das Wesen der Aesthetischen Anschauung*, Berlin, 1875, 153; M. Kawczynski, *Essai Comparatif sur l'Origine et l'Histoire des Rythmes*, Paris, 1889, 4; E. Meumann, *Untersuchungen zur Psychologie und Aesthetik des Rhythmus*, Leipzig, 1894, 26, 77; E. W. Scripture, *The New Psychology*, New York, 1901, 177 ff.; W. Wundt, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, 5th ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1903, iii. 161.

[2] Cf. E. Meumann, "Beiträge zur Psychologie des Zeitbewusstseins," *Philos. Studien*, 1896, xii. 127.

regularity of stress and measure. Subjectively rhythm may be regarded as a temporal perception. In this sense it is a series of sensations at regular intervals [3] with a definite variation of intensity. Again, rhythm may be recognised as a regulated emotion,[4] and there are three arguments. First, within certain time-limits a series of monotonous sounds is interpreted as rhythmical. The ticking of a clock, for instance, is heard as though every alternate tick were accented. Second, the effect of rhythm can be produced not merely by changing the objective intensity of regularly recurring stimuli, but also by changing their duration, or time-interval, or quality. In other words, the intensities may remain constant, and yet by introducing any one of these three variations the observer has the illusion of intensive fluctuation and therefore hears the series as rhythmical. Third, there is a strong tendency to accompany a series of rhythmic sounds with movements of head, foot, or hand. A sensation never exists alone but always in combination with other sensations of both external and internal origin.

By reason of this organic unity rhythm presented through sight, as in the mass dances of primitive people, tends to excite an impulse toward similar rhythm in other channels such as touch, hearing, and muscular movement. When we hear dance music, we feel inclined to hum the notes in words, if there are any words, or in an inarticulate *la*, while we keep time with the dance internally through imagination or externally in movements such as hand-clapping or foot-tapping. Even if we are so situated as not to hear the music, the

[3] "Sensations increase in an arithmetical series of progression when the stimuli increase in a geometrical one." L. Witmer, *Analytical Psychology*, Boston, 1902, 212. Cf. J. M. Baldwin, *Handbook of Pyschology: Feeling and Will*, New York, 1894, 83 (cumulative effect of iteration); H. C. Stevens, "Fluctuations of Judgments in Estimation of Time Intervals," *Amer. Journ. Psych.*, 1902, xiii. 1–27.

[4] Baldwin, 265; William James, *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., New York, i. 612. Rhythm may thus be a sort of pathetic fallacy. Cf. T. Ribot, *Psychology of the Emotions*, London, 1906, 104 (genesis of emotion through rhythm).

sight of others dancing will suggest inner or outer imitation.

Various hypotheses, which cannot be here discussed in detail, have been offered to account for the witchery of rhythm. The cosmic hypothesis, which may have been first suggested by Anaximander, conceives a vast rhythm of growth and decay, of up and down, of mingling and sundering,—a rhythm which determines the evolution and dissolution of all things. Rhythm is nothing more than the return to something known, the principle of again and again, at time-intervals that are apparently regular; so that within its majestic sweep are embraced the pulse-wave and the tidal wave, the stridor of the cricket and the cycle of the star. Man is caught by the magic of rhythm because it is an expression of the universal.

The biological hypothesis claims that the perception as well as the enjoyment of rhythm is probably common to all animals. Rhythm, it is alleged, was employed by primeval man, especially during courtship. Neither the serenade nor the love poem is extinct. The rhythm of music is apt to bring before us the ghosts of potent prehistoric emotions. Let us note, however, that while birds and insects appear to be pleased by rhythm, most of the higher mammals are indifferent, and besides the lowlier races of mankind are more given up to its sorcery than the higher.

The linguistic hypothesis maintains that the rhythm of poetry and music is born of passionate speech. If this be so, how can we account for the incoherency of the sobs and the words of excessive grief? Objections have been urged on musical grounds, and it is difficult to harmonise this view with the facts of ethnology.

The priestly hypothesis [5] is that an inventive genius, a priest without doubt, sought to gain the favour of his deity by creating verses whose syllables were alter-

[5] Kawczynski, 46 f. ("je suis disposé á regarder la notion du rythme comme un produit de l'esprit grec").

nately long and short. This was found to be most pleasing to a delicate earthly ear, and presumably would prove most pleasing to the divine. The notion of rhythm being absent from Sanskrit literature, its invention can be attributed to Greek genius. Naturally we feel tempted to ask who taught the Australian tribes to love this Greek invention.

The composite hypothesis[6] offers four suggestions as to the universality of rhythm among men. Rhythm is connected with the general development of nervous susceptibility, the dawn of dancing, the use of percussion instruments, in addition to its accentuation and value in the course of labour.[7] Now there certainly is some connection between rhythm and nervous susceptibility, but unless man had a prior sense of rhythm, how could he have learned the measured dance? Irregular hops and leaps demand less thought than the regulated choral dance. The Fuegians have no instruments of percussion, yet their time-sense is excellent, Again, co-operation in labour is generally impossible in the case of men who hunt. Rhythm cannot be the offspring of labour, nor is its value as an incentive to labour noticeable until men attain a higher culture than that of the hunting tribes. It is through the choral dance that rhythm asserts itself most conspicuously as a social and æsthetic element, a fact which shuts us up to the conclusion that rhythm antedates both work and play. Under these circumstances we must look for a solution within man himself.

The physiological hypothesis seeks an explanation of the source and value of rhythm by laying emphasis upon the rhythms of the heart and the lung. Now both our heart-beat and our breathing are normally unconscious; but even if they were always conscious processes, it is difficult to see how they could account for rhythms that are not physiological.

[6] Gurney, 131f.

[7] The last of these suggestions has been elaborated. Cf. K. Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, Leipzig, 1896, 78, 101.

The ideational or dualistic hypothesis[8] offers this analysis of the agreeableness of rhythm. Rhythm is a pleasant feeling resulting from the alternation and fusion of strain and relaxation feelings. These have a double source. First, the alternation is involved in the periodicity of attention; second, the fusion depends upon the similarity of each rhythmic period to its predecessor. This fusion is produced by the strain of expectancy and the relaxation of recognition. Each one of a series of stimuli is preceded by a sense of expectancy, and each stimulus begets the feeling that we have seen it before.

Sparing ourselves the tedium of scrutinising all the known theories of the relationship of rhythm to art, let us for the sake of clearness ask ourselves one question in three ways. Can it be shown that rhythm is really an expression of the law of economy? Can it be shown that rhythm is a mode of producing the greatest result with the least expenditure of energy? Is a regular recurrence of action and repose best for the human organism? Now it is a familiar experience that in spite of ourselves we arrange recurrent sights and sounds in groups.[9] It is the mind that sees and hears, and the question therefore narrows itself down to this—what is the secret of that subjective or inner rhythm from which none of us can escape?

In trying to answer such a question we are obliged to give attention. All knowledge, be it knowledge of rhythm or anything else, is the result of attention. Attention is a form of tension or effort, voluntary or involuntary, induced by an internal or external stimulus. Attention is periodic[10] vividness, and forms

[8] Wundt, iii. 161, 188.

[9] S. Hall and J. Jastrow, "Studies of Rhythm," *Mind*, 1886, xi. 58; T. L. Bolton, "Rhythm," *Amer. Journ. Psych.*, 1893, vi. 145 ff.; R. MacDougall, "Relation of Auditory Rhythm to Nervous Discharge," *Psych. Rev.*, 1902, ix. 462. Cf. A. Carpe, *Der Rhythmus*, Leipzig, 1900 (intro.).

[10] T. Ribot, *Psychologie de l'Attention*, Paris, 1889, 32ff.; J. M. Baldwin, *Psychology; Senses and Intellect*, New York, 1890, 184; James, i. 420; Scripture, 179; MacDougall, 465; Witmer, 28.

the basis of our sense of the lapse of time. The result is that external or objective stimuli of equal time-intervals, of equal speed, of equal intensity, are never recognised as they really are. In short, consciousness itself, which always involves attention however vague, is caught in the sweep of this periodicity of the brain-wave. Obviously the attention period adapts itself to the varying circumstances of life. Repetition makes successive repetitions easier and easier, and thus the rhythmic period is an illustration of the law of economy. We expect a certain stimulus at a definite point of time, and the satisfaction thereof begets a pleasure that helps the human organism.

The hypnosis hypothesis [11] is virtually a form of the attention theory. It is asserted that rhythm is the element which art employs to induce hypnosis or forgetfulness of the wear and weariness of daily routine. Dancing and singing tend to throw us into a sort of trance in which we become susceptible to suggestions of different kinds. In this result rhythm is a constant factor. Here then is a working hypothesis, which looks at least as plausible as any of the others.

Human movements and cries are not in themselves artistic, but they are capable of transmutation. Dance and song have æsthetic value simply because they are regulated. They stoop to a definite time-sequence in order to conquer a place in the realm of art. Neither melody nor thought may be conspicuous, but without a definite time-sequence the most primitive art would be impossible. In brief, rhythm is the fundamental or earliest art-form, and the hunting tribes naturally make the most of it. There is variety, but it is a unity in variety. Each rhythmic period is felt as a unit, but each unit gives a tint to its successor. Thus while every wave, so to speak, has its rise and fall, no two

[11] P. Souriau, *L'Esthétique du Mouvement*, Paris, 1889, 70; id. *La Suggestion dans l'Art*, Paris, 1893, 67; L. Jacobowski, *Die Anfänge der Poesie*, Dresden, 1891, 127; *Indian Review*, Madras, 1905, vi. 441.

are absolutely identical. They are similar, of course. Rhythmic designs are repeated and varied, and it is the variety in unity that gives character and originality to any work of art.

In higher civilisation it is difficult to realise the power of the communal dance, because our training in self-restraint is along other lines than those of the hunting tribes. Our standard of conventionality has undergone enormous change. In preserving dignity or decorum or whatever we please to call it, we sacrifice the irresistible influence that seizes each individual of a crowd, whose members are at once audience and performers. It is when men are massed that rhythm stands out as the wonder-worker. Drawn together to face a common foe or share in the spoils of the chase, emotions find utterance in cries, words, and gestures. The Babel is seized by a collective rhythm that originally may have been accidental. Caught by the common wave of passion men can neither sit nor stand still, so there springs up a crude dancing moulded by imitation and followed by a wordless singing that brings the chaotic cries into unison. Intoxicated by the rhythm the hunters seek occasion to renew the effect. Their efforts at reproduction casually lead to results somewhat different, until long long afterward a sort of composite photograph of poetry and the drama is thrown upon the screen of their little world. To have a share in all this is joy enough until, with advancing culture, the reason becomes dissatisfied and calls for higher efforts from the specialist, the artist of higher civilisation.

One scientist claims to have traced the opening of the ear to the gill-slits of primeval fish-forms, but we shall leave the truth or falsity of this hypothesis for the decision of biologists. The ear never attains the comparative independence of the eye. The eye can turn away from a disagreeable sight, whereas the ear is

obliged to submit at times to painful stimuli. By way of compensation it has been found that hearing is the sense most acute in the measurement of time. It gives precision to the indefinite time-series reported by the visual and other senses. It is for this reason that the non-musical dance makes but little appeal to men at any stage of culture. Indeed if we lacked the sense of hearing, how could there be any appreciation of musical tempo, vowel quantity, prose rhythm, or that secondary rhythm which is usually called metre? In listening to rhythmic sounds we are not apart from, but a part of, the rhythm. The source and pleasure of rhythm lie deeper than speech or culture; it satisfies a subconscious need.

The primitive dance-song may possess but little melody or verbal significance, yet it has a never-absent significance of its own. Universally it is dominated by the occult power of rhythm. The omnipotent trinity of the hunter's festal joy is music, dance, and poetry. The music may be merely the discordant notes of the throng or the clashing of two sticks against each other. The dance may to our eyes be lacking in elegance. The poetry may be simply a single meaningless word. Nevertheless when the clash of the club coincides with the stamp of the foot and the accent of the syllable, there is not a summation of effect but a resultant greater far than the sum of the three. In higher culture we shall see a differentiation of music, dancing, and poetry; in primitive culture it is music that supports its two colleagues and gives festal gatherings their chief significance. Precisely by reason of its inarticulate character, music is able to voice those woes, joys, aspirations, and hidden movings of the human soul; and in this aspect rhythm plays a part immeasurably potent.

Higher culture has manifold interests and manifold forms for the expression of social satisfaction, yet even

the highest civilisation at times becomes conscious of bygone rites and bygone rhythms which still flourish among the hunting tribes. The triune rhythm is the readiest mode of satisfying a subconscious impulse or call of human nature, while its principle of unification brings order out of the apparent chaos of everyday human activities, binding men more closely in the bonds of kin and of kind.

CHAPTER VIII

PRIMITIVE DANCE AND DRAMA

We have seen that rhythm is the most conspicuous element in primitive art, while dance, music, and verse as a rule constitute a triune mode of æsthetic activity. Every one has observed that education in the school of life is from simple to complex, from impulse to reason. Upon this principle muscular movement must have been earlier than vocal sound, hence the dance is the primordial manifestation of art.

Probably primeval man at times executed dances on the spur of the moment, and those instinctive hops and leaps gradually rose above the stage of improvisation, as experience taught him the value and the delight of concerted movements in the company of his kinsmen. In considering the Veddas of Ceylon we gazed upon dances that were little better than improvisations performed with simple conventional stagecraft—an opening in the jungle or a dry torrent-bed, with an arrow or a pot of food as the point within the circle of actors.

Taking the dances of the hunting tribes as a basis for induction, what is the significance of the primitive dance in the evolution of literature? Dances may be classified quantitatively as solo or collective, or sexually as male, female, or mixed dances. Thirdly, from the standpoint of movement, dances are of two main types, stationary and locomotor. The former occupy a clearly defined space; the latter lead the performers away from the starting point. Fourthly, we may consider all primitive dances as either recreative or mimetic. The former are more emotional and spontaneous; the latter are symbolic and narrative. The one class simply express the feeling of the mo-

ment; the other tell a story through the medium of what has been called the poetry of motion. Fifthly, we may arrange primitive dances geometrically into round, line, and amorphous dances.

The improvised solo dance is the most natural and most instinctive of all, and is therefore presumably the earliest. It still survives in the highest civilisation, though as a rule it is restricted to the inartistic movements of children and unsophisticated adults under the stress of intense feeling. Among collective dances the round or ring dance is perhaps the earliest and apparently the most popular. A ring is the simplest way of implying that every one is present. It brings a body of people into a sort of communal emotionalism vividly illustrated by the custom of the Akkas, the Veddas, the Pangan women of the Semang, and the Botocudos. Less conspicuously it is seen among the Australian aboriginals and the Eskimo tribes, which have attained greater histrionic elaboration than any of the hunting tribes. Whether it be a stationary dance as in the case of the Semang women and the Botocudos, or a locomotor dance as in the case of the Akkas and the Veddas, the round or *ronde* [1] accentuates the oneness of all, while it gives each an equal chance of enjoying the festal ceremonies. In some of our indoor and outdoor games [2] the circular form has no other significance.

The circular is probably the forerunner of the line dance, which in the form of the *contre* or country dance

[1] Witness the same formation in the formal Andamanese welcome as well as in the formal Australian and Seri mourning. For Australia see especially W. E. Roth, "The Natives of the Never-Never," *Wide World Mag.*, 1908, xx. 565.

[2] Children are quick to imitate their elders. Nearly all the ring dances of the children of civilisation are believed to have had their origin in the ancient dances of adults. Cf. G. Tissandier, *Jeux et Jouets du jeune age*, Paris, 1884; W. W. Newell, *Games of American Children*, New York, 1884; J. D. Georgens, *Das Spiel und die Spiele der Jugend*, Leipzig, 1884; F. Dillaye, *Les Jeux de la jeunesse*, Paris, 1885; G. A. Colozza, *Il Giuoco nella psicologia nella pedagogia*, Torino, 1895; A. B. Gomme, *Traditional Games*, etc., 2 vols., London, 1894–8, ii. 478; Haddon, 328ff.; G. Vuillier, *Plaisirs et Jeux depuis les origines*, Paris, 1900; K. Groos, *The Play of Man*, New York, 1901, 350; W. W. Newell, *Aftermath*, New York, 1905.

is familiar enough to most of us. Among the hunting tribes we have had occasion to notice four variations of the line dance. The Australian corroboree has the female chorus seated in a semicircle, while the dancers line up in the same way round the festal fire. The Andamanese range the women in one line, the onlookers in a line opposite, while the dancers move in a single line back and forward between the two stationary lines. The Kwai arrange themselves in two lines, and engage in what English-speaking people call a country dance.[3] The chain-dance of the Kwai is a double-line dance in which each line winds in and out with the other. It is the humble prototype of artistic dances such as the reel and strathspey. The processional[4] dance, which is occasionally witnessed among the Australian aboriginals and the Eskimo, is a moving line.

Amorphous dances, wherein the performers are not arranged in definite order, are best exemplified by the bird and beast dances. These have been noticed, for instance, among the Akkas, the Kwai, the Australian aboriginals, and the Eskimo. In some cases the mimic footfalls and gestures are rendered more explicit by bird-calls and beast-cries; in most cases the mimicry is performed by the trailers and trappers without the aid of the women folk.

1. Hunting Dances

Primitive dances[5] are linked with five main motives, namely, hunting, fighting, initiating, wooing, and magic. The hunting dances are deliberate efforts to

[3] There are good reasons for believing that some country dances are wordless survivals of ancient rites.

[4] European survivals of the processional dance are the dance of the pilgrims at Echternach in Luxemburg on Whit-Tuesday (*Notes and Queries*, May 17, 1890), and the annual Furry or Fadé dance on May 8th in the Cornish town of Helston (*Wide World Mag.*, July 1905, 298ff.). The winding-up games of children, such as A Bunch of Rags and Eller Tree, are virtually line dances that revert to the circular.

[5] Cf. É. du Méril, *Histoire de la Comedie*, Paris, 1864, 72; Wallaschek, 187ff.; L. Grove, *Dancing*, London, 1895, 52; Grosse, 207; Hirn, 92, etc.; Gummere, 328. Cf. John Dewey, "Interpretation of Savage Mind," *Psych. Rev.*, New York, 1902, ix. 220 ("the hunting psychosis").

represent the mode of trailing and trapping, some notable incidents of the chase, or the ways of the creatures that inhabit land and water. In the very act of rehearsal, the hunters are adding to their efficiency. This pantomimic exercise is a preparation for easier play of the muscles, and to the younger lads it is an object lesson, in the course of which they behold the veterans reproducing the lore which they acquired in nature's school at the risk of their lives. Is it not natural for them to suppose that the greater ease and success in the chase should be due to some mysterious power in the dance itself? To some extent their mimetic adroitness springs from the belief that the more precisely the dance is performed, the greater is its potency as a lure. From being a festal dance in which they are wont to renew the blood-craze of the chase, it becomes a kind of decoy for bird and beast.

Whether a certain mimic dance is playful or serious, we cannot at all times decide. It seems reasonable to suppose that the hunter's art always combines pleasure with utility and thus has a distinct economic value. The very suggestion of hunting, associated as it is with the stilling of hunger-pangs, is amply sufficient to ensure a spirit of gaiety in dances of this type. Each hunter feels stronger by reason of the sympathy of numbers, each is stronger through exercise in the dance, and when the sense of homogeneity is realised through the potency of inner and outer rhythm, the struggle for existence grows less grave and is for a time forgotten in the abandon of the tribal gathering.

2. Fighting Dances

The economic value of the hunting dances is paralleled by the political value of the war-dances.[6] The

[6] In spite of Greek culture the Romans for reasons of policy permitted and even encouraged certain survivals of primitive days. Yearly in March the two colleges of priests of Mars carried the sacred shields through the city, halting at each temple and altar in order to indulge in a war-dance. Has it occurred to us why this parade took place in March?

former help to ward off death by the paws or jaws of beasts of prey, whereas the fighting dances[7] are of use in the struggle against human foes. Primitive man is clannish, and the stranger as such is an object of suspicion. The need to checkmate aggression is the bond that, even more than kinship, knits men into a social unity. Usually the hunter can act alone, but war demands unity of action, an end which is admirably attained by means of the rhythmic war-dance. A sense of solidarity is evoked, and the braves acquire new courage and confidence through familiarity with their weapons as they brandish them in the course of the dance.

As a rule men court death or its possibility only under the leading of strong emotion, and this can be speedily aroused in the motions of the dance. The simulation of the sham battle becomes a stimulation to the real one. Moreover, such exercises have an educative function in teaching the youthful males how to overcome an enemy by open assault or by strategy. That their main value, however, is political is shown by the fact that in warlike tribes such as the Akkas, the Kwai, the Australian aboriginals, the Fuegians, and the Seri, the real chief is the battle leader, who finds his place by reason of superior strength, valour, and intelligence. In short, the fighting dances, whether before or after combat, are more than a festal diversion. They increase tribal pride and coherency by exhibiting readiness for defence or defiance, and this utilitarian aspect in no way lessens their charm from

[7] The term sword-play still retains the sheen of the sharp blades hinted at in *Beowulf* (1042) and mentioned centuries before by Tacitus (*Germania*, 24). The mattaccino of Italy (*Zeit. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xviii. 9), the *matachin* of Spain, the *danse des bouffons* of France (J. Tabourot, *Orchésographie*, Paris, 1588—reprint 1888, 97), as well as the sword-dances of Germany (W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 3 vols., Halle, 1893–1903, i. 418), Sweden (Chambers, ii. 270) and the Scottish Highlands are highly developed forms of the primitive war-dance. See also K. Müllenhoff, "Ueber den Schwerttanz," *Festgabe f. G. Homeyer*, 1871, iii. 114; F. A. Mayer, "Ein deutsches Schwerttanzspiel aus Ungarn," *Zeit. f. Völkerpsychologie*, 1889, 204; J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, Boston, 1897, i. 296 (Revesby Sword Play).

the artistic standpoint. A poet, for instance, is none the less a poet because he is lucky enough to receive an honorarium in token of his genius.

3. Initiatory Dances

Among the hunting tribes of Australia, the Andaman Islands, and Seriland, every lad is obliged to share in the initiatory dance before he can take part in either hunting or fighting dances. As a child he has been under the care of the women of his clan; but now that he has attained the semblance of manhood, the stripling becomes a candidate for the full social privileges of his kinsmen. The initiatory dance is an incident in a trial by ordeal[8] such as manly natures covet. The candidate's willingness and power to suffer pain or even death is tested not merely by the exhausting dance, but by such devices as show whether the youth will or will not wince under penalties which may some day be inflicted upon him in an effort to secure information[9] useful to the enemy. The concomitant mutilation and scarification practised by some of the Australian tribes as well as the tattooing and scarifying of the Andamanese make a lasting impression on the neophyte's mind.

Some of the northern tribes of Australia have as many as seven degrees[10] before the novice is finally raised to full tribal manhood. In connection with these ceremonies are dramatic representations of certain animals and plants after the manner of what we call dumb charades. The candidate is taught to avoid certain foods under threat of the most severe punish-

[8] It is a similar spirit that throws a halo around boxing, wrestling, fencing bouts and football matches. Cf. H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, 4th ed., Philadelphia, 1892, 249 ff.; H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908, 34 ff., 192.

[9] At initiation ceremonies in Queensland gesture-language alone is taught and strictly enforced. Cf. W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, 71; id., *Wide World Mag.*, 1908, 563.

[10] Roth, *W. W. M.*, 563.

ment. He is also told from what section of the tribe it is lawful for him to capture or otherwise obtain possession of a wife, and in general he is taught how to behave toward men and women in harmony with tribal standards. Thus the initiatory dances are exercises [11] in life's discipline. They have therefore a definite ethico-æsthetic value as the fighting dances have politico-æsthetic significance.

4. Erotic Dances

Erotic dances of the hunting tribes belong to three chief classes—nubility, nuptial, and hetæristic or orgiastic. Nubility dances such as those witnessed among the Australian, Andamanese, Seri, and Eskimo tribes are restricted to girls who have reached adolescence. Doubtless these maidens are taught directly as well as symbolically some of their duties and responsibilities. Nuptial dances [12] embrace those that are connected with courtship or more directly with the wedding feast. Such dances are familiar enough within Akkaland, Australia, the Andaman Islands, and the Arctic Circle. Hetæristic dances have occasionally been witnessed among the Kwai and the aboriginal Australians.

Association of the sexes in dancing is not so common in primitive society as it is in modern civilisation. In the androgynous atmosphere of a present-day ballroom the performers dance in couples. Solo dances as well as dances confined to one sex are customary only in a theatre. Among the hunting tribes, however, there is considerable variation. Bisexual or mixed dances are known among the Kwai, the Andamanese,

[11] A sedentary life (*σκιαταφία, vita umbratilis,* Cic., *Tusc.*, ii. 27; Quintil., i. 2. 18) is not seldom mentioned with contempt by both Greeks and Romans, who daily spent some time in open-air athletic exercises.

[12] The O. H. G. *hîleîh,* which means wedding, originally signified sex-dance. Cf. Chambers, i. 167. Dramatic games are played by little girls of higher civilisation or by both sexes, whereas games of skill and chance belong to the boys. Cf. Gomme, ii. 460.

the Veddas, the Botocudos, and the Eskimo, whereas in Australia they are by no means popular. They seem to be absolutely unknown among the Fuegians. The Akkas have dances for men, women, and children together, whereas it is usually the women of the Semang that trip it on the light fantastic toe. Men's dances are most common among the Akka, the Kwai, the Australian, the Andamanese, and the Eskimo tribes. Women's dances are in vogue among the tribes just mentioned, besides the Semang and the Seri. Practically all of the women's dances are more or less erotic, while in the mixed dances this element is presumably present.

Applying biological principles to primitive society Darwin [13] urged that art had its origin in the impulse to attract by pleasing. The truth is, however, that hunting or the food-quest is the dominant passion in primitive life, and the origin of art is linked with feasting or festivity. Both history and ethnography show that amorousness attains its greatest potency among more advanced peoples [14] like the Malays, the Turks, and the Persians, who have far more leisure than the hunters. The primitive erotic element is subsidiary. This fact is no less true when we admit that any dance at which both sexes are present affords opportunity for self-exhibition,[15] prompted either by vanity or by desire to gain or retain the esteem of the other sex. Indeed even the hunting and the fighting dances or any unisexual performance [16] may serve such a purpose. Men of every degree of culture are to some extent susceptible to the opinion of mother, sister, and others.

[13] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1888, ii. 400, 418.
[14] Hirn, 233f.
[15] Darwin, ii. 400.
[16] Augustus (Suetonius, 44f.) forbade women to view the athletes, whereas Nero (*Ib.*, 12 f.) invited the Vestals on the ground that the priestesses of Ceres were spectators at Olympia.

Doubtless observers have at times misunderstood some of the antics that accompany tribal dances, but there is no dubiety about the hetæristic performances. Certainly this form of communal art, unlike the vice to which Burke alludes, has not "lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." On the other hand, while it it true that romantic love blossoms only in higher civilisation, the bud may be seen even among the lowlier tribes. In its expressions affection changes with changing social conditions, though as an emotion it is uniform. If the primitive erotic dances are not exalted by that lofty spiritual emotion which has become a synonym for the Deity, at all events they serve to develop chivalry in the men and to turn their thoughts toward the domestic hearth, the symbol of that social unit which we call home. Thus the erotic dances have a socio-æsthetic significance.

5. Mystic Dances

Ludicrous dances do not here call for special analysis, as the comic is often an incidental feature of the erotic and other performances. We have seen that there is a close kinship between the hunting and fighting dances, for slaughter is the ultimate object of both. There is an equally close connection between the initiatory and the mystic dances; indeed the former may be regarded as simply an important division of the latter.

Primitive mystic dances may be classified as cyclic, medical, funeral, spirit, and shamanistic. Cyclic dances are exhibited at lunar cycles, particularly during the new- or full-moon ceremonies of the Kwai and the Seri. Light is most welcome because wild beasts or demons haunt the darkness. Medical dances, such as those practised by the Australian, Andaman, and Vedda tribes, are supposed to scare the evil power that has entered the sick man. Funeral

dances,[17] such as those of the Akkas and Andamanese as well as the impressive mortuary ceremonies of the Eskimo, are intended to do homage to the departed soul and so prevent his return as a mischief-maker. Spirit dances are held in honour of ancestors, actual, totemic, or divine. These range from the simple fetish or ghost dances of the Akkas and Veddas, and the sacred dances of the earlier Kwai to the elaborate totemic ritual of the Australian and Eskimo tribes. The ultimate object is to win the favour of disembodied kinsmen, ancestral deities, or totems, so as to ensure among other things a plenteous food-supply. Significantly enough it is only among the Australian, Semang, and Eskimo tribes that shamanistic ritual is prominent. The lowlier hunting tribes have no members belonging to a separate cult. To the student of comparative religion the wizard or witch dances of the Eskimo, for example, are of special interest, because it is through the agency of such performances that the wizard or witch can read the future or tell what is happening anywhere in the visible or invisible world.

Mystic dances are executed for the express purpose of producing magical results. If time be the touchstone of truth, few opinions can boast of a more ancient lineage than the belief in magic. That it is possible for man to wield preternatural power is a doctrine that is accepted by many people [18] of low and high civilisation all over the globe. Indeed if we may estimate the importance of a doctrine by its consequences, there are few topics more worthy the serious attention of the student. Clairvoyance, astrological [19]

[17] Mourners danced at Roman funeral processions, while the archimime wore a mask to impersonate the deceased, whose deeds he recited. Cf. G. Vuillier, *A History of Dancing*, London, 1898, 36. For European medieval dances see F. M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1886, i. 10, 45 (Dance of Death).

[18] The writer knows of only one white wizard in the United States. His neighbours are confident of his skill in witchcraft.

[19] Cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 128; *Edinburgh Review*, 1904, cc. 75ff.; H. Jennings, *The Rosicrucians*, 4th ed., London, 1907, 340.

predictions, palmistry, and exhibitions of spiritualism are revivals or survivals of practices which antedate Christianity by many a century.

Primitive man associates the festal dance with release from pain, and what more natural than that he should here also find a way of winning the favour or at least ensuring the neutrality of occult nature-powers? What pleases the hunter is likely to placate others. If mortal visitors are welcomed by a dance in their honour, will not the mysterious potencies appreciate a similar courtesy? In other words the tribesman argues that like produces like, and thus arises what may be called homœopathic magic.[20] To produce a given effect imitate it.

He further believes that things which have once been in contact are never the same. Ever after there is a subtle relationship between the two. Thus arises synecdochic or sympathetic magic. Telepathy is now possible. If you possess any object that ever belonged to a person, you have him in your power[21] even though he is at a distance. Potentially the part is the whole. Hence sprang up the need for amulets.[22]

The first principle to some extent accounts for the precision and prominence of the mimetic element in primitive dances and in rainmaking. The second in some measure explains occasional purloining from superior races as well as some of the decorations pre-

[20] E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 3rd ed., London, 1878, 277; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 3 vols., London, 1894–6, i. 173; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., 3 vols., London, 1900, i. 9; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 116; Chambers, i. 102.

[21] Samson's locks gave Delilah her sinister power. In the *Ordo Romanus* are several prayers "ad capillaturam incidendam," and in medieval days it was customary for the bishop or some other spiritual adviser to trim the tresses of the young. Contantinople actors of the fifth century wore long hair in honour of their patron, the unshorn or *abrocomus* Dionysos.

[22] Cf. M. Kronfeld, *Zauberpflanzen und Amulette*, Wien, 1898; G. Bellucci, *Amuleti italiani contemporanei*, Perugia, 1898; C. Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne*, Paris, 1902, 100ff.; W. Ridgeway, "The Origin of Jewelry," *Records of the Past*, 1904, iii. 190 (Babylonian cylinders, Mycenæan gems, Egyptian scarabs had their origin in sympathetic magic); P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs*, London, 1906; S. S. Stitt, "Maldivian Talismans," *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, 121.

paratory to the dance. Whenever these primitive conceptions of science include recognition of an animal spirit or nature spirit or supernatural potency, we see what Dr. Tylor calls animism.[23] So far as the mystic dances cultivate the reason and imagination of man they pave the way for science, philosophy, religion, and poetry, besides being possessed of an inherent æsthetic value.

Origin of the Dance

It is a truism that we never have a thorough knowledge of any subject until its beginnings have been probed. The foregoing analysis of primitive folk-dances must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that while these performances are the simplest existing forms of terpsichorean art, yet even they are not identical with the spontaneous efforts of primeval man. Contemporaneous communal dances are most probably the nearest approximation thereto, but they merely offer a fairly reliable clue to antecedent forms. With this necessary proviso let us cautiously inquire as to what are likely to have been the actual beginnings of the dance.

The biological hypothesis has already been mentioned. Dancing existed long before the advent of man. It is true that many animals[24] instinctively express their feelings, usually amatory, by rhythmic movements which may be regarded as rudimentary dances. The hooded cobra sways and gyrates under certain forms of excitement, while the plover and other birds execute different kinds of dances. One

[23] *Prim. Cult.*, i. 426. Cf. A. Vierkandt, "Die Anfänge der Religion und Zauberei," *Globus*, 1907, xcii. 21, 40, 61.

[24] Omitting the dance of little fish referred to in Aesop's fable, the waltzing mice of the pet-sellers, and the circular hops of the roe deer, everyone knows that some game-birds are fair exponents of both song and dance. Mounted on a tall pine or big boulder and trailing his wings, the capercailzie revolves as though he were whirling in a ballroom. Cf. Darwin, ii. 60; K. Groos, *The Play of Animals*, New York, 1898; J. G. Allen and L. Buttress, "How Birds Make Love," *Strand Mag.*, May, 1905.

serious flaw in the biological argument is, that even if we acknowledge the existence of prehuman and subhuman dances, their nature and number stand in no apparent ratio to the actors' position in the zoological scale.

A theory of beginnings is satisfactory only so far as it conforms with the known facts of man's psychical nature as well as with the known facts of primitive custom. Now it is an experience common to all of us that under strong emotion it is scarcely possible to keep still. Constantly we note a subtle connection between motion and emotion. Paradoxically the feeling of pleasure or triumph is a sort of disguised pain,[25] and our emotion seeks an outlet in muscular movement. The conventionality of higher civilisation has largely restricted or directed emotional expression to gestures and vocal speech, but the hunting tribes have conventionalities different from ours. It is in the movements of the dance that primitive man finds a means of restoring the organism to its normal poise. Motor manifestation is practically a direct physiological sequence of any vivid sensation of pleasure or pain. There is a vital and necessary connection between emotional states and motor sensations. We never experience any intense emotion without becoming conscious of bodily change. Thus the dance is a secondary manifestation of that desire of all living things to increase pleasure and to relieve pain. This is the fundamental motive of all human activity.

Admitting all this, wherein does human dancing differ from that of animals? The act of dancing is not peculiar to man; the art of dancing belongs to him alone. With the animals he shares the desire to set free some of his surplus energy in bodily movements. At first his irregular improvisations constitute a sort of artless dancing, but slowly art emerges from pleas-

[25] Cf. E. S. Dallas, *The Gay Science*, 2 vols., London, 1866, i. 163.

ure. The dance is no invention of man; man alone is the inventor of æsthetic dancing. Whenever the steps of the dance become rational, whenever they conform to man-made conventions,[26] higher and higher forms of the recreative dance increase human satisfaction, until the mimic dance blossoms into a thing of beauty. To sum up, as soon as spontaneous movement is regulated by rhythm and by reason, man has left the lower animals hopelessly behind.

Inasmuch as dancing is the most spontaneous[27] of all the arts, it may be regarded as the earliest. Linked with inarticulate vocal cries it fell under the spell of measure or order,[28] and slowly grew more rational. Dancing arose not because man desired to perfect himself in hunting, fighting, or magic, but simply because it was a means of enhancing pleasure[29] or forgetting pain. Its later economic, political, or ethical purport exists altogether apart from its primary æsthetic significance.

Free rational activity may account for individual dancing, but why should dancing ever be collective? Our study of primitive dances has brought home to us the fact that solo dances are infrequent as compared with mass dances, and solo dances are always executed in the presence of others. In tribe after tribe we have witnessed one festival after another, yet in itself this social phenomenon does not prove that the origin of artistic dancing is festal. In cultural influence there are few institutions more important than the festival. In primitive society it is supreme, and the communal dance is its dominating feature. If the act of dancing originated with the individual, is it feasible to suppose

[26] Vuillier, p. x.; E. Scott, *Dancing in all Ages*, London, 1899, 3; E. Giraudet, *Traité de la danse*, Paris, 1900 (intro.).

[27] For the moment we must become children of nature. Unless we become as little children, we cannot enter the kingdom of truth.

[28] G. B. Brown, *The Fine Arts*, New York, 1901, 14.

[29] J. C. F. von Schiller, *Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. Goedeke, Stuttgart, 1867, x. 327; H. Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., London, 1881, ii. 630. Play, however, does not of itself evolve into art.

that the *art* of dancing was ever anything but a social [30] product? Though primitive customs suggest a social origin for art, of themselves they are not convincing because they represent nothing more than the present results of the lowliest æsthetic functioning.

In trying to decide whether choreographic art [31] is social in its origin and prehistoric evolution, we instantly notice its connection with the food-quest. In conflict with other creatures, many of whom were gregarious, primeval man was obliged to form groups for self-defence. The prime necessity of physical life is food, and the festival is essentially the agency of communal feasting. When the wild fruits and game had relieved man from the pain of hunger, he was in the mood for festivity. In the school of experience he learned [32] that confidence in others doubles our joys and palliates our sorrows. He discovered the truth of the wonderful paradox that the more happiness we give to others, the more we have for ourselves. Caught by the same communal sentiment, all members of the group expressed themselves in impromptu recreative dances. In time some of those dances acquired a conventional form, while a few rose to the dignity of symbolism. Man's happiness overflowed in comic mimicry of the habits of those beasts and birds that had fallen under his club, stone, or snare.

Though varying in its expression, the love of imitation [33] is a constant factor in every grade of civilisa-

[30] Etymology seems to point toward a social origin or evolution. Thus Χόρος signifies dance in a ring, then a choric dance, and finally a choir. O. H. G. *danson* means to drag, and this implies two or more persons. Gothic *laiks* stands for play, dance, song, or festival. The Sanskrit *nataka* signifying play is from the verb *nat*, the Prakrit form of *nrit*, to dance; hence nautch-girl.

[31] Cf. Plutarch, *Symposiacs*, ix. 15; Sir J. Davies, *Orchestra*, London, 1596 (poetic treatment); A. Czerwinski, *Geschichte der Tanzkunst*, etc., Leipzig, 1862; W. Knight, *The Philosophy of the Beautiful*, 2 vols., New York, 1904, ii. 249 (bibliog.).

[32] C. Féré, *Sensation et Mouvement*, Paris, 1887, 12; *Psychological Review*, v. 552; G. F. Stout, *Psychology*, New York, 1899, 255.

[33] Aristotle, *Poetics*, i. 5; iv. 6; Lucian, *De Saltatione*, xv. 277; L. de Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne*, 2 vols., La Hague, 1754, i. 166; Hirn, 74.

tion, high or low. The primitive mimetic dance is but one of the forms of a social influence which none of us can escape. The interpsychical effects of individuals upon each other are open to observation from childhood to senility. Imitation is never absent, and sometimes it is abnormal [34] in its manifestations.

This sensitiveness of man to his social environment involves change. When a teacher shows a pupil how to write, the change brought about in the pupil is the result of trying to imitate. A change is primary when it is created by the individual; it is derivative or secondary when merely adopted. When a man follows his friend's advice, the change is not only secondary but deliberate; his accent is secondary and unpremeditated.[35]

With backward tribes as with ourselves uniformity of speech or custom springs from general acceptance or imitation of some one individual, and neither the individual nor the community may be aware of either the creative or the imitative process. At any time the community, wittingly or unwittingly, can veto whatever the individual initiates, so that the genesis of language, religion, and literature is essentially democratic.

In brief, life implies change, and that change gains currency which is favoured by social conditions. The imitation that underlies all society, civilised and uncivilised, is so unconscious as to make practically all customs look like the simultaneous product of the

[34] The imitative impulse has at times been so pronounced as to constitute a nervous or mental disease. Pathologic mimicry has had many forms. Paracelsus, who first made a study of it in the sixteenth century, called one form of this malady *chorus sancti viti*, and Burton refers to it in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In 1374 the dancing mania raged in epidemic form. Haunted by visions, men and women would form circles hand in hand, and dance in wild delirium until they fell to the earth exhausted. Cf. J. F. C. Hecker, *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages* (trans.), London, 1859; G. M. Gould and W. L. Pyle, *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, Philadelphia, 1900, 853.

[35] It is in this last sense that Tarde uses the term. Cf. G. Tarde, *Les lois de l'Imitation*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1895, 37.

community. These customs are nearly always born by stealth and untraceable. This type of imitation, involuntary and unobserved, among the hunting tribes has its supreme manifestation in the choric dance.

Literary Significance of the Dance

In the evolution of literature no art plays a part more important than the communal dance. In its earliest stage the only spectators are the aged or the crippled. Among the Akka pygmies of Central Africa the men, women, and children are performers. In a somewhat higher plane of society, as among the Andamanese, the men dance while the women help in the chorus. Finally, when tribes are confederated into nations, the numbers of the people are so great and the bond between them is so lax that the communal dance becomes impossible. Then it is that dancing deteriorates as a social factor, occupying but a subsidiary position and restricted to the stage and the ballroom.

In a work of this nature the relation of dancing to sculpture [36] cannot be discussed. Art is the creation of beauty in visible or audible form, and the dancer's harmonious succession of movements may have as much artistic value as a permanent creation in marble. In itself the dance may have high æsthetic value. In a later chapter we shall see that it is the prototype, not only of pantomime, but of puppet-play, mummers' play, literary masque, and dramatic literature in general. What is the songless dance of the Akkas but an incipient pantomime or dramatic representation without words? What are many of the primitive dances but pantomimes whose symbolic steps and gestures are reinforced by vocal and instrumental music?

[36] Brown, 50; Arthur Symons, *Plays, Acting, and Music*, New York, 1903, 4.

Mystery Plays

In spite of that evanescence which it shares with the art of music, the primitive dance reveals itself in more intricate forms. The Kwai, Australian, and Eskimo tribes have attained to the dignity of Mystery Plays. Costuming, scenery, and music are under the management of a director. They are a species of dramatic composition devoted to sacred purposes. Upon the stage of nature the actors strive to represent characters and events that are mainly superhuman. Sacred beings or mythic ancestors are impersonated through dancing and other movements mingled with speech and song. Actors and audience are one.

Folk-Drama

Finally, can we forget the Semang comedy, the Fuegian Kina, and the Eskimo drama in honour of the spirits of the creatures slain in the chase? In each case exist action, music, and dialogue; in each case is a plot-interest which enlists the sympathy of the audience; in each case are exhibited certain aspects of the life with which they are familiar. Thus can it be truthfully affirmed that there exists a primitive drama, a drama which seeks to interpret life through the medium of that wonderful triad—the cadence of music, the precision of speech, and the alluring undulations of the dance.

CHAPTER IX

PRIMITIVE LYRIC

If our scrutiny of the hunting tribes has served no other purpose, at least it has shown that the dramatic, lyric, and epic elements of primitive art have invariably a very close relation. We have observed that the dramatic, which includes gesture [1] and dance, predominates over the two others by right of birth. Man could leap and dance before he could sing, and he could punctuate the dance with ejaculations before he felt confident enough to coin words wherewith to tell a story in the form of verse or prose. The easier is the earlier, and the simple is always the forerunner of the intricate.

It is worthy of notice that in the earliest Greek treatise on Æsthetic, lyric poetry is nameless. In his consideration of drama and epic Aristotle [2] boldly claims that poetry is more scientific and more serious than history, but the lyric he does not recognise as a literary species. As he knew it, the lyric was subsidiary to the drama, and he probably had no knowledge of an unsung or unaccompanied lyric. In this respect Athenian life was evidently much nearer to primitive custom than is ours. All primitive lyrics are songs, and most of the songs may be regarded as lyrics, whether the accompaniment happens to be a lyre or a drum, or the regulated handclaps of a choric dance.

Primitive songs may be classified in various ways.

[1] Cf. Tylor, *Early History*, 15; G. Mallery, "Sign Language among North American Indians," *Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, 1881, i. 263ff.; G. J. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, London, 1888, 86.

[2] *Poetics*, ix. 3.

With reference to bodily movement most of them may be called dance-songs. Among the Akkas was seen a songless dance, but a few danceless songs have also been noted among the Andamanese, Australian, Semang, Seri, and Eskimo tribes. Besides lullabies the danceless songs embrace those that are connected with labour and gambling. Quantitatively there are two classes, songs of one person or those of a multitude. The choruses are far more numerous than the solos. While most of the primitive songs are composed by adults, the Andamanese and perhaps some of the Australian and Eskimo children make their own songs after the pattern of their elders. On the other hand, the Akkas still retain the simpler and probably earlier system where men, women, and children dance and sing in unison.

A more distinctive classification is that which relates to time. Impromptu songs are the spontaneous utterance of present emotion, whereas the traditional are survivals or revivals of the past. Improvisation is conspicuous among the Obongo, Australian, Andamanese, Botocudo, and Eskimo tribes; traditionary or commemorative art has a foothold among the Kwai, Australian, Andamanese, Vedda, Semang, Fuegian, and Eskimo tribes.

From the linguistic point of view the songs are either inarticulate or articulate, unintelligible or manifest. The former are nearly always traditionary, unless we care to regard the custom of the Andamanese and others as an exception. Such tribes mutilate the words and arrange them in any order, so as to satisfy their sense of rhythm, or simply to make the words distinct from those of colloquial speech and thus lend the charm of novelty. Both inarticulate and traditionary is the chant of all chants among the Kwai, Australian, Botocudo, and Eskimo tribes.

Themes of Primitive Songs

Most of the themes of primitive songs have an economic basis. Naturally enough the hunting tribes, like people of higher civilisation, have a sentimental interest that is restricted to such objects or conceptions as, directly or indirectly, give them pleasure. Primitive ideals may be really much higher than our interpretation of the words in which they are expressed. The poetry of the hunters is perhaps more than a one-sided realism. So far as primitive poetry hints at the significance of life, so far as it touches the core of man's being, it is transfigured by at least the glimmerings of idealism. There was a time when Shakespeare himself was incapable of writing two lines of doggerel. As compared with what we are accustomed to call poetry the metrical compositions of primitive man are crude indeed, yet as compared with the primeval they probably mark a distinct advance in æsthetic culture.

1. Hunting

Hunting, which may be taken to include gambling and the food-quest in general, is the leading theme. This statement needs no demonstration if we remember the texts or allusions of the Akka, Obongo, Kwai, Australian, Andamanese, Semang, Botocudo, and Eskimo songs. Among all these tribes poetic efforts reveal themselves as festal songs, that is to say, songs connected with feasting and dancing. All other forms of verse are subsidiary. Even the mystic or magic songs of the Australian, Vedda, Fuegian, and Eskimo tribes as a rule are, directly or indirectly, concerned with the food-quest.

2. War

Among more robust tribes the war-songs play an

important part in social life, yet they too in many cases arise from quarrels concerning poaching upon forbidden gamelands. No form of religion has hitherto been able to suppress fighting, and it is rather significant that the first lyric recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures [3] should have revenge or defiance as its motive. Fortified by the grimace of contempt or the frown of rage, primeval men probably approached their rivals with clenched fists or raised clubs, while they uttered short inarticulate cries. Much later they invented the bow and arrow, and mastered the secret of coöperative stimulus in the choric war-dance. The clashing of clubs or spears was the earliest instrumental accompaniment, a stage beyond which the Australian and other tribes have not yet risen. Other tribes, such as the Akkas and Botocudos, learned to use hollowed beast-organs, a custom which finally led to the bugle and other wind [4] instruments. It was the quickening sense of rhythm that begat the slogan, which is the germ of the war-lyric and the patriotic hymn.

Among the hunting tribes no war-songs are more spirited than those of Australia. Poor creatures we may deem them because they fear the water-demon haunts,[5] yet some of the tribes appear to have war-songs that might pass as national anthems, were it not that there is no nation of hunters in existence. Short and simple is the typical war-chant, and under favourable circumstances it becomes an almost irresistible incantation.

[3] *Genesis* iv. 23, 24. The personal note, the poetic words האזין and אמרה, and the parallelism of the three distichs indicate that if Lamech's song is an early war-song, it has undergone many changes in the course of oral transmission. It may have been a clan war-lyric or incipient epic sung by the men while they danced before the women, who cheered them on with hand-clapping, drumming, or other signs of approval. Lamech would thus be the traditional progenitor who, as clan spokesman, issues a challenge reminiscent of the death-pangs of that alien brave who dared to raise his hand in strife.

[4] J. F. Rowbotham, "The Origin of Music," *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct. 1880; Wallaschek, 87, 99.

[5] Ghingi and bunyip holes of Queensland.

3. Love

Love-songs have been heard among the Kwai, Australian, Semang, and Eskimo tribes. Moreover, it is safe to assume that as a rule the erotic dances are performed to the accompaniment of erotic songs. Indeed we know that at one time this was the invariable custom among the Kwai [6] of South Africa. It may also be admitted that under certain circumstances an amorous undercurrent may for the moment run through the inarticulate tribal chorus. Again, the sign-language which forms no small part of the erotic text is practically untranslatable, and this is one reason why some observers have failed to record what they have seen and heard. Furthermore, primitive man is not likely to take an alien into his confidence when, like the Australian lover, he attempts a serenade.

Granting that some primitive love-songs do exist, that erotic dances imply the existence of others, that such songs are sometimes difficult to translate, and that the element of reserve pervades some of them, still it is undeniable that the erotic element in primitive art is entirely overshadowed by such motives as the food-quest, the combat, and the transition to the unseen world of spirits. The customs of contemporary hunting tribes lend but little support to Darwin's hypothesis that music, poetry, and oratory had their origin in the desire to charm the opposite sex.

This is not the time to enter into an elaborate discussion concerning the genesis and development of the love-lyric. When the student of literature ventures to write a monograph upon the evolution of the love-song, the task must be cautiously performed in the light of concomitant wooing and wedding customs. Such prenuptial and nuptial customs vary directly with

[6] Stow, 104, 115.

economic, social, and æsthetic conditions. Directly the career of the individual, indirectly the career of the community, is transformed during periods of affective prevision. It is then that susceptibility to kind is supreme. Martial custom is no more closely connected with heroic poetry than is marital custom with amatory verse.

4. Satire

The smile, which is the parent of laughter, is an inherited impulse whose genesis [7] there is no space to discuss. Whether laughter is due to a feeling of our own superiority, or simply due to an unexpected contrast, is still a vexed question [8] of psychology. At all events it leads, on the one hand, to the satire of poetry and prose, and on the other to farce, extravaganza, and comedy.

In the metric satire of the hunters other points of more direct interest invite our attention. The beginnings of jocose literature become easier to surmise, when we recall the occasional open mockery of Fuegian mimicry, the veiled mockery of the Semang dance-drama, and the taunting choruses and parodies of Australia.[9] Satire is evidently of lyric descent, choral invective being the most artistic expression of punishment or contempt. The impromptu songs concerning the alien traveller are almost always satiric, and this is to be expected at the tribal stage of culture which is inclined to regard strangers with suspicion. Wherever keen observation is combined with a temporary lack of sympathy, ridicule is ready to awake.

[7] H. R. Marshall, *Pain, Pleasure, and Aesthetics,* New York, 1894, 329; W. Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes,* Leipzig, 1895, 56; J. Sully, *An Essay on Laughter,* London, 1902, 155, 168.

[8] Cf. L. Dumont, *Des Causes du Rire,* Paris, 1862 (intro.); H. Lotze, *Geschichte der Aesthetik in Deutschland,* München, 1868, 342; H. Spencer, *Essays,* 3 vols., London, 1891 (essay on Physiology of Laughter); J. Sully, *The Human Mind,* 2 vols., London, 1892, ii. 148; C. Darwin, *Expression of the Emotions,* London, 1905, 196 ff.

[9] Cf. G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions,* etc., 2 vols., London, 1841, ii. 308.

Primitive metric satire is, of course, without subtlety or refinement. It is essentially a caricature [10] of the victim's physical peculiarities, and is precisely analogous to the occasional grotesque symbolism of medieval architecture as well as to the feebler cartoons of ancient and modern times.

Naturally enough the allusions of primitive satire are mainly drawn from hunting episodes, while the sneers of rival hordes constitute an incidental offshoot. Though always dependent upon the familiar refrain, satiric song has made most progress among the Eskimo, who have succeeded in developing it from satire that is purely choral. Primitive metric satire is never a song with which individuals alone are concerned. The Eskimo song-duel is a singing dialogue, regulated by drum beats. It takes place in the presence of the entire community.

Similar sarcastic improvisations are known among people much more advanced. For instance, there are the Icelandic *Flockr* [11] or short verses which are so often the vehicle of queries and enigmas. In Greenland we have the primitive analogue of the Latin *Fescenninae,* the *Tenzons* of Provence, and the Hebridean wit-combats[12] between lord and laird, chief and retainer. There also is the prototype of the mock scoldings or flytings of poets [13] like Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco or William Dunbar and Walter Ken-

[10] Cf. T. Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art,* London, 1875, 2, etc.; J. Parton, *Caricature and other Comic Art,* New York, 1878, 30; O. Beauregard, "La caricature il y a quatre mille ans" (Egyptian) and M. Marcano, "Caricature précolombienne des Cerritos," *Bull. Soc. Anthr.,* Paris, 1889; Evans, 186, 279. For playing cards as cartoons see Wright, 371; F. Jessel, *Bibliography of Works in English on Playing Cards and Games,* New York, 1905 (index). For satiric scrawlings on walls in former days see Strabo, 674; Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.,* iv.; Catullus, xxxvii. 10.

[11] *Gunnlaugi Saga,* Havniae, 1775, 112; *Hervarar Saga,* Havniae, 1785, 128. One of the most highly developed forms of this type of verse-making is the *qit'a* of Omar Khayyam, which consists of a cynical dialogue between the *hakim* and Reason.

[12] A Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica,* 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1900, ii. 223, 278.

[13] A classical parallel is the epigrammatic bout between Catullus (l. 1) and G. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet. Cf. the poetic tournaments of Spanish *trovadores.*

nedy. The Greenland song-duel further reminds us of the teasing *Schnaderhüpfl* [14] of Bavaria and the Tyrol, and it suggests the earlier form of those types of *chansons* that are full of dialogue [15] and not very remote from drama.

5. Labour

Presumably primeval men and certainly the present primitive tribes were able to sing before they had evolved labour songs. The hunter is obliged to be silent when he is hot on the trail, and before he sought the spoils of the sea, he had learned to subsist upon the bounties of the land. Several writers have suggested that the labour hypothesis might explain the origin of poetry, but if concerted labour gave rise to song, why is it that most of the hunting tribes are without labour songs?

It is safe to affirm that so far as is known, working songs are restricted to the maritime tribes, namely, the Australians, Andamanese, Fuegians, Seri and Eskimo. Neither the building chants of the Seri women, the kaiak songs of the Eskimo, nor the similar chants of the Andamanese can for a moment be compared with the lure of the festal dance-chorus. Boating songs are simply a modification of the familiar festal chorus, so as to secure coöperation in rowing or paddling. It is probably the lift and the lilt of the waves that first compelled men and women to toil in concert and thus led to the rise of the working song. Without a doubt men learned to sing long before they invented means to foil the treacherous waters. Once it was invented, however, the marine song became so neces-

[14] E. H. Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, Strassburg, 1898, 337; Gummere, 403. More primitive perhaps than Eskimo satire is the song-scolding of the Australian women, but details are lacking.

[15] *Romania*, Paris, vii. 61, ix. 568; A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1889, 48; A. Rossat, "Chants patois jurassiens," *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk.*, Zürich, 1903, vii. 241 ff. (satiric folk-songs from the Jura). The Norse *stev*, the Arras *puis* and other examples will occur to every reader.

sary to seafaring men that among highly civilised people it has persisted for centuries after the dance-song had become obsolete. Real songs of the sea,[16] not those composed by landsmen, are still sung aboard hundreds of vessels. In short, the Eskimo kaiak-songs foreshadow those spirited seamen's chanteys that are fragrant with the spume and the spindrift of three-fourths of this planet.

6. Childhood

The songs inspired by childhood belong to two classes, lullabies [17] crooned by the mother to her infant, and songs chanted by children who have passed beyond infancy. Of these the lullabies are the more important, partly because they are older than the juvenile songs, and partly because they are the first form in which most of us unconsciously imbibe a love of poetry. The infant has probably no sense of the beauty of the melody, but he quickly falls under the spell of the rhythmic cadence. It is the mother's caress of her babe that mingles with the earliest of love-songs. Whether the lullaby be droned by the Australian or the Eskimo mother, it has a distinction that belongs to no other metrical composition. Simple it may be in form, content with but two or three words and two or three notes, yet in every quarter of the globe it leaps straight from the heart of the mother revealing and concealing the love of all love.

The Akka children, who have passed the stage of infancy, join in the choruses of their elders, and pos-

[16] L. A. Smith, *Music of the Waters,* London, 1888, pp. 360; J. Ashton, *Real Sailor Songs,* London, 1891, pp. 97; J. Barnes, *Ships and Sailors,* New York, 1898, pp. 124; F. Rinder, *Naval Songs,* London, 1899, pp. 293 (Canterbury Poets series); J. E. Carpenter, *Sailor Songs,* London, 1900, pp. 136; P. A. Hutchison, *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore,* 1906, xiv. 16; E. Duncan, *The Story of Minstrelsy,* London, 1907, 319 (bibliog.).

[17] H. Ploss, *Das Kind,* etc., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1882, ii. 128; J. Humphreys, *Old Welsh Knee Songs,* Carnarvon, 1894, pp. 38; B. Perez, *The First Three Years of Childhood,* New York, 1894, 264; A. Harrison, *Lullabies of Many Lands,* London, 1894, pp. 127; Grace Rhys, *Cradle Songs,* London, N. D. (intro. Canterbury Poets); Groos, *Play of Man,* 20.

sibly the children of all tribes and nations [18] have songs peculiar to themselves. All that is positively known is that the little lads and lasses of the Australian, Andamanese, and Eskimo tribes have singing games, the songs of which are sometimes made by themselves on the spur of the moment and accompanied by dancing. Others, no doubt, are traditional, while all of them are bound to be modified imitations of what the young people have heard from the men and women of the community.

7. Mourning

One of the most important branches of primitive song is the lament, which in the case of the Akkas, Andamanese, and Eskimo is an invariable concomitant of mortuary dances. The burial ceremonies of tribes like the Seri and Eskimo are coloured by the recollection of the bitter pangs of occasional enforced fastings.[19] The dirges vary in æsthetic value, but in every case certain rules of etiquette are followed. There are the sobs and wailings that last night after night in Seriland until the mourners abandon themselves to a frenzied whirl over the desert. The Fuegian Telania exhibits the regulative element in two ways. Though the lament is accompanied by beating of the breast and tearing of the hair, there is no weeping and the mourners are mostly of the male sex. Australian mourning customs are by no means uniform. More formal still is the exhumation ritual of the Andamanese with its prolonged iteration of the dance-song for the dead. Highest of all are the solemn chants of the Eskimo in connection with a great tribal feast. A few simple intelligible lines blend with line after line of traditional inarticulate phrases, which seem to be a

[18] Cf. J. B. R. Whitehead, *Folk-Songs and Other Songs for Children*, Boston, 1903 (226 of ten countries—in English with music).

[19] Cf. P. Sartori, *Die Speisung der Toten*, Dortmund, 1903, ("Care of the dead begins with feeding and in most cases ends with it.").

modified survival of the earlier outcries of poignant sorrow.

The elegies of national literature exhibit not the acuteness of immediate grief, which is practically incoherent, but the reminiscence in which the artist has begun to refine on his theme. This is one reason why Shelley remarked that "the sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought." Evidently primitive men have some idea, however vague, of what has been termed the luxury of grief. It is probably for this reason that the mourning ceremonies of some of the hunting tribes are so elaborate and so prolonged. It can scarcely be due to superiority of sympathy, for sympathy is a form of social imagination, and is certainly no more vivid in lower culture than in higher. In any case the mourning songs serve a twofold purpose. They knit the clansmen in closer bonds of amity, and they lift their thoughts for a time above the materialistic tendencies of daily routine. With a wail we enter the world, and with a wail some of us leave it. Few are content to be ushered from the known to the irrevocable unknown, and this very natural attitude points to one of the beginnings of philosophy and religion.

Origin of Poetry

In the nature of the case all theories of origin [20] are without finality, because they deal with what is prehistoric and therefore outside the sphere of observation. Every science, however, must have a working hypothesis, which is based as far as possible upon the rock-

[20] For some theories of poetic origin cf. Aristotle's *Poetics*, iv. 1, 6; F. M. Pagano, *Discorso sulla origine e nature della poesia*, Milano, 1801; F. A. Hoffman, *Poetry, its Origin, Nature, and History*, London, 1884; W. Scherer, *Poetik*, Berlin, 1888, 83 (Darwinian); J. Donovan. "The Festal Origin of Human Speech," *Mind*, 1891, xvi. 498; R. de la Grasserie, *Le Museon*, x. 299, 589 (Spencerian); Jacobowski, 66; C. Letourneau, "Origin of Literary Forms" (trans.), *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, 1893, xliii. 673; E. Mauerhof, *Der Ursprung der Poesie*, Zurich, 1898; Gayley and Scott, 266; Gummere, 348.

bed of fact. Now the poetry of contemporary hunting tribes takes us as near primordial poetic forms as we can ever hope to reach. Primitive poetry is the sole finger-post that points the way to primeval poetry.

We have seen that feelings in general are rhythmic[21] in character. Certain states of feeling express themselves in impulsive bodily motions and cries which tend to prolong the pleasant or curtail the painful feeling. Such impulsive motions and sounds prepare the way for voluntary movements of the body and the voice. When these are controlled by rhythm, the rudiments of dancing and music have emerged, though they remain inseparable for many a year.

Everywhere just as the primitive dance is usually choric, so primitive poetry is invariably in musical form.[22] Poetry tends to define the emotions expressed by dance and music. It heightens the pleasure of the festal dance by increasing the vividness and variety of emotion and thus making life more worth living.

In a sense poetry is earlier than articulate speech. At one time men may have been speechless, but we cannot conceive of a time when they were unable to communicate with one another by gesticulations and cries, by bodily and vocal movements. Speech, as we understand it, implies progress in thought and invention. Perhaps the earliest sounds were neither articulate nor rational. Later the sounds of the human voice became rational, and finally they became both rational and articulate. Then it is that true speech becomes practically independent of bodily movement or gesture. Then it is that man becomes capable of a certain degree of abstraction.

[21] G. T. Ladd, *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, New York, 1900, 508, 527.

[22] Cf. J. Combarieu, *Les Rapports de la Poésie et de la Musique*, Paris, 1894, pt. iii. 340 ("L' union de la poésie et de la musique a un triple fondement: la tendance des deux arts à se pénétrer mutuellement, leur impuissance à se suffire à eux-mêmes dans certains cas, enfin la convention").

Inarticulate Verse

There are two classes of primitive poems, the articulate and the inarticulate. The one-word traditional poem of the Kwai and the two-word traditional poems of the Botocudos and the Eskimo exemplify the simplest possible forms of verse. In all three cases the text is meaningless. Let us be slow to despise the hunters because they so often chant songs without intelligible words. Folk-songs and balladry contain words or lines that have now no other value than to fill up the measure. The interjectional *Ha!* or *Eja!* of German ballads, the *O!* and the *Ah!* of British songs and ballads are precisely like the *Hooch!* which is still used to punctuate the graceful windings of the Highland reel and strathspey. Wherein do these and similar surviving exclamations in every land differ from phenomena we have constantly noticed among the undeveloped tribes? Are not these in some cases merely the vestigial remnants of the old tribal chants with their complete text of one word or two?

It is surely natural for us to expect poetry to begin with one word rather than one hundred. Grant that the word is merely exclamatory, does it not express feeling? Grant that it is a verbal expression of feeling, and we are shut up to the conclusion that in this oral symbol of feeling lies the potentiality of lyric art. When the *Aye-o* of a Kwai chorus or the *Amna aya* of a Greenland community is set free, back of it is the human consciousness which defies analysis. Such a word or phrase is a nucleus which in the course of time gathers to itself companions and becomes the loftiest expression of the human spirit.

The *Calani aha* of the Botocudos and the *Yung iya iya* of the Western Eskimo seem absolutely barren, but we may miss a thousand and one nuances that appeal

mightily to these tribes. The crooning of a certain lullaby or the singing of a simple folk-song may transport one man to dreamland, while his neighbour may be impassive or bored. Who is the person that denies a place for the law of association in primitive communities? Who could have foreseen the wonderful calculations of physics and other sciences, if he had stood alongside the progenitor of Newton, Helmholtz, and Kelvin, as he laboriously counted twenty with the help of toes and fingers?

Macaronic Verse

Daily we share in the expression of spirit through matter. Why then should anyone be surprised to find that the spiritual language of what we are accustomed to call poetry has but little apparent spirituality at its birth? Do we not recall the pathetic attempts of the Eskimo mourning-song, for instance, to emerge from the inarticulate? It is only partly intelligible. When we sing to ourselves, all of us are apt to hum the melody to some meaningless syllable, for it is melody that preserves the fragrance of reminiscence. Sometimes we sing a sort of macaronic verse, filling up the occasional forgotten line with improvisation, which may or may not possess outer significance. Sometimes with an atavism that is deliberate we find pleasure in making up nonsense verse, partly because it is impromptu, partly because it is ours, but mainly because it seems to gratify a passing whim that is usually unaccountable. It is the words of such moments that turn the searchlight upon primitive modes of thought. Each of us is the incarnation of thousands who are gone before, and though they are dead, yet they live closer to us than hands or feet. What is transient in us is habitual with primitive man, and thus the distinction between him and ourselves is one of degree rather than kind.

Verse and Music

The poetry of the lowlier tribes depends more upon music than upon words. Music and unwritten verse, alone among the arts, make their appeal to the ear, and even now that the two arts are differentiated, poetry cannot be properly appreciated until it is read audibly and rhythmically. The lower we go in the scale of civilisation the greater is the dependence of verse upon music, partly because primitive man has an inadequate vocabulary, and partly because he has not acquired the power of introspection. It is here that music excels, for it can still express impulses that are too vague for formulation.

Significance of the Unintelligible

Admitting that the hunters have a limited vocabulary, it is natural to ask why they should persist in singing a one-word chorus that has no sense. Genetically there are two kinds of inarticulate or unintelligible poems, those that never had any definite meaning for a given tribe and those whose original meaning has been lost by the tribe among whose members it was composed. Among the Australian tribes, for example, we know that a song with definite meaning may travel from one tribe to another whose language is different. Caring nothing about the meaning of the words of the new song, they preserve the unintelligible words for the sake of the tune to which they are set. So far as this latter tribe is concerned, the words never possessed any significance. Again, we observed that the Andamanese changed the words of everyday speech to suit the melody. The text has a definite meaning for its composer, but if the song survives, its meaning is unintelligible to the community as a whole. Both the Australian and Andamanese customs seem to point back to a time when irrational sounds constituted the

entire content of what may be called embryonic poetry.

This is the main question. If these tribes are able to remember only one word, why do they not sing one of those in everyday use? If they are able to remember many words, is it not absurd to chant a series of sounds without sense? Were the hunters merely groups of idiots, they should have succumbed to the other wild creatures long ago.

The solution seems to be that the hunter's interests are narrow, confined entirely to questions that directly concern his own activities and those of his kinsmen. What is nearest is believed to be most important. What in our judgment is casual, in the judgment of primitive man is causal. He fails to discriminate between the relative importance of the subjective and the objective. In his experience communal pleasure has always been associated with the singing of a particular word or phrase, and he naturally comes to believe that there is an occult power in the word. The chorus really becomes an incantation, potent because unintelligible and therefore laden with mystery. This is true even where much higher forms of song are coexistent. *Amna aya* is better than all the lyrics that ever were improvised in Greenland. As the sea responds to the changing moods of those who have ears to hear, so the single word or phrase with its varying force and speed is enough to reflect the passions of the hunters.

Under " Barbaric Lyric " we shall make a comparative study of the two stages of tribal culture, discussing more pertinently such phenomena as articulate verse, improvisation, objective lyric, the refrain, rime, mystic numbers of literature, metre and metric dialect.

CHAPTER X

PRIMITIVE NARRATION

In the foregoing analysis of primitive song it became necessary to account for those simplest of all vocal art-forms, inarticulate choral songs. It must be confessed, however, that possibly the most significant features of autochthonic song are those which travellers have dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders or a word of contempt. Who are we to pass final judgment upon the wails and the wiles of the aboriginal heart? Has not every white man in America, for instance, listened at times to melodies sung by negroes who for several generations have been in contact with a high form of civilisation? Tinged with unconscious memories of the African forest and sounding from hemp field, camp meeting, or cabin door, have not some of their chants been in certain respects beyond the pen of the copyist? Do the trills and quaint intervals mean nothing to the singers? Doubtless more, far more, than our songs and hymns mean to them. Those festal choruses of Akkas, Obongo, and Kwai can boast of no lofty music, yet they may tug at the heartstrings of the sympathetic listener of alien blood, if he reflects that forever he is outside the potency that begets them. If we have tasted the maturer joys of an exalted culture, on the other hand we have lost the racial birthright of hearing [1] with the ears of our more distant sires. When some gifted primitive soul ripens into self-revelation in terms familiar to us, then alone may we hope to interpret much of what is now unin-

[1] This substitution of the senses is simply an example of the great law of compensation which permeates nature. For illustrations of compensatory sense-development see Gould and Pyle, 432 ff.

telligible. Every soul knows something that is meaningless to any one else.

Essence of Epic

We are all familiar with the fact that epos originally signifies that which is spoken. One word is about the least that can be spoken, and therein dwells the potentiality of the epic process. There is the possibility of a tale whenever a word attracts comrades. Thus primarily the epos is a narrative in prose or in verse, though eventually the Greeks restricted the term epê to spoken or recited poetry as distinguished from melê, the poetry of song. Even as the core of the drama is action, so the core of the epic is narration. This has been true of the epic process at every known stage. With the increasing complexity of higher and higher social environment, the universal love of story-telling assumed other and more complex forms such as allegory, romantic fiction, and the novel of real life, yet it has always been true that the epic spirit is latent or patent in every narrative.

The overshadowing figure of Homer in Hellenic literature for a long time led men to fancy that epic was the earliest of literary types; but a more thorough knowledge of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* confirmed by the researches of anthropology, has shown that genetically epos is certainly not earlier than drama and subjective song. In the evolution of human culture as in that of the physical universe, each upward movement seems to entail a limited sacrifice of elemental efficiency. In the primitive and comparatively plastic stage of pantomimic or vocal narrative, of mimetic dance or narrative song, individual talent glimmers evasively through the medium of collectivity.[2] It is

[2] If we remember that analogy is not proof but may be illumination, a tempting comparison might be drawn with zoology, whose problems, of course, are simpler because its factors are more determinate. The need for vascular efficiency and for ready response to stimulus resulted in the disappearance of most of the bulky reptiles in favour of the agile carnivora.

especially in the lower levels of general culture that we see under similar conditions of economic and social environment such a comparative uniformity of reaction as leads to belief in the psychical unity of mankind. The natural inference is that under similar conditions similar customs may spring up among tribes that would find it rather difficult to borrow from each other. In more advanced culture much of the experience of the race is registered, such records becoming available for each person as he emerges from childhood, and thus the opportunities for varied reaction are much more numerous.

Practically the dramatic, lyric, and narrative elements all appear in the dance-chorus of primitive folk, though from the psychological side the epic is latest in making its appearance. Drama in the simplest sense implies no more than significant bodily movement, lyric no more than inarticulate verse born of the dance rhythm, whereas at the very least the epic involves narrative however brief. In other words, the dramatic and lyric elements are expressive of mere emotion, but the epic entails the guidance of emotion by some degree of reflection. If as a rule the telling of a story demands higher mentality than mere utterance of feeling, then the epic element must have been the latest offshoot from the undifferentiated literary stem of primeval days.

Kinds of Narrative

Epics are of two kinds, metrical and prose, the latter of which are less familiar in English literature than in Keltic and French. Of metrical narrative there are five primitive varieties, impromptu narrative songs, traditional narrative songs, war songs, heroic lays, and mythic or supernatural chants.

In a sense all vocal communication is an epic process. The simplest form of metrical epic is that which

tells the story of the moment through vocal music. The Obongo, Australian, Andamanese, Botocudo, and Eskimo tribes indulge in improvised narrative songlets, and thus preserve what appears to be the lowliest form of epic verse. Artistically the Eskimo improvisations are by far the most gifted. What is the song-duel, for instance, but a mock epic or ballad? Brought by both metre and melody within the jurisdiction of art, the impromptu metrical narrative is supremely interesting as the bud which in a higher culture blossoms into the dignity and æsthetic allurement of the Homeric manner.

The next stage of narrative song is traditional. Those impromptu chants that meet with social approval are not allowed to perish among the Australian, Andamanese, Semang, Fuegian, and Eskimo tribes. Meagre enough may be the epic material, yet superior charm of some sort enables the impromptu rhythmical narratives to outlive many another literary striving. It is the traditional narrative songlet that foreshadows what literary critics are accustomed to call the traditional ballad.

The third stage in the evolution of metrical narrative is marked by a distinction in theme. As a rule the epic deals with the elemental passions, among which an important place belongs to rivalry. All epics are more or less concerned with the warfare of man against man or man against nature. Thus it is that the war-songs of the Kwai, Australian, Andamanese, Fuegian, Botocudo, and Eskimo tribes are the natural forerunners of the heroic species of literature.

The fourth stage is marked by the appearance of the heroic lay or incipient martial ballad. The theme links this variety of primitive narratory metre more or less closely with the war-song, but it is much more personal than the latter. Only after tribes are confederated do mighty chiefs arise, under whom heroic

poetry is encouraged. It is therefore not surprising that among primitive tribes only two heroic lays have been noted. One is an impromptu verse of the Botocudo:

"The head man—he fears no one."

The other is a traditional fragment recorded among the Kwai:

"Raselepe bounded like a kid,
Bounded like the kid of an antelope."

These lowly heroic verses are interesting as specimens of the simplest forms of what in a higher social culture evolved into an essentially aristocratic literature.

The fifth and highest stage of primitive narratory verse is exhibited in the mythic and supernatural chants of the Australian, Andamanese, Vedda, Fuegian, and Eskimo tribes. Love of the marvellous is an undying instinct of human nature, constituting one of the leading incentives to story-telling or narrative. If the actual or fancied marvels are supposed to have a relationship with ourselves or our kinsmen, they stir the emotions as alien narratives never can. Thus it is that primitive as well as higher narratives make their strongest appeal to the people among whom they were created. Thus it is that emotion seeks a satisfying outlet in rhythmic form, which in the case of more fortunate races ultimately leads to the stately utterance of pentameter and hexameter verse. The ritual of sacred dance accompanies the brief mythic narrative, which finds adequate social expression through the festal chorus.

At its humblest the primitive prose narrative is purely potential; it is nothing more than a necessary prelude to nascent forms of literary art. First, it is the artless story of a current event of any kind, the details of which are brought out by appropriate ges-

ture. Second, it is the artless story of a contemporaneous and unusual event. Third, it is the narrative of an event or a feat of bygone days. It is the one out of a thousand tales—remembered for reasons best known to the original narrators. At the fourth stage of evolution the primitive prose tale is not merely traditional, but much of its phraseology becomes conventional, while the historical element begins to yield to the legendary. From the outset primitive man has been trying to understand self as well as the not-self. His efforts to interpret external nature have led to myth-making, while the unconscious idealisation of oral history has brought forth legend, and myth and legend constitute the warp and the woof of what we are accustomed to call epic art.

At the fifth and final stage of primitive prose narrative there is a conventional recitation of the traditional mythic or legendary tale, and this recitation blends with dramatic gesture, dance, and song. This stage is most clearly seen among the Eskimo, and in a less artistic form among the Australians and Andamanese. In a more complex form of society the increasing division of labour is paralleled by coalescence and division in literary species. Mutual attraction and repulsion of certain elements are witnessed in both metrical and prose tales. Metrical narrative borrows the art of conventional recitation from the most promising form of primitive prose narrative, and at the same time prose narrative discards the histrionic and choral elements in order to produce fable, fairy tale, prose romance, and ordinary fiction.

Group Personality

Since narrative and all other literary types are social phenomena, the beginnings of society antedate those of literature. Naturally enough even the most feasible theories of origin are never absolutely beyond question,

and yet no science has been able to confine speculation entirely to the field of actual experience. We cannot demonstrate that there has always been uniformity of natural law, yet every science in existence is based upon such a belief. Legitimate doubt begins whenever speculation introduces principles or activities that are not now at work in man's social and physical environment. If, however, at all points the prehistoric unknown rests upon what is known, a provisional solution may be of no little value for orientation.

The study of language seems to indicate that a sense of group personality was the earliest phase of human consciousness. The primordial personal conception is not singular [3] but plural. Primeval personality is collective, yet the social group may be divided not only into individuals but into grouplets. The search for food has a tendency so to divide primitive society; and the 'we,' or personality of the group, also tends to divide itself. In the Australian dialects, for instance, the first personal pronoun has two distinct forms which are known to grammarians as inclusive and exclusive. Missionaries are obliged to give this idiom constant attention, for if the inclusive form of the pronoun be used in prayer, the phrase "we have sinned" would imply that the Deity also had done wrong. On the other hand, if the exclusive form were used in a sermon, the clergy and not the audience would be counted as sinners. The inclusive form seems to be the collective 'we' of the group personality, while the exclusive form is selective, referring to a grouplet within the group.

This linguistic theory points back to a time when man was accustomed to think, not from the individual but from the collective standpoint. Speech was developed as the organ of group personality, thus creat-

[3] Payne, ii. 201ff. This scholarly historian refers to Australian, Andamanese, Fuegian, and other languages. Cf. W. Wundt, *Philos. Studien*, iv. 25.

ing a psychical unity which has never ceased to affect the evolutionary process.

There are other considerations which seem to add weight to the belief that at the outset of his career man thought in terms of his group rather than as a distinct individual. First, ancient law [4] cares almost nothing for individuals and is concerned with groups alone. Second, certain features of primitive society agree with the hypothesis. Among the Australian aborigines,[5] for example, are group terms for family relationship. Though the individual may be connected with a father or a mother group, and may belong to a husband or a wife group, certain ceremonial customs are survivals of a wider grouping in earlier times. Third, even among people of higher culture it is not so long since the rights and relations of the individual became clearly defined. Finally, man's physical characteristics indicate that he did not evolve through individual but societal efficiency. In comparison with other mammals he is so weak and sensitive that in his case evolution must have passed from a physical to a psychical plane in which social conditions took the place of those that were merely individual. It was necessity that determined association and gave rise to the social human being, without whom literature is inconceivable.

The Mythic Element in Narration

Whether or not human society began with a sense of group personality, we must have observed that the principle of personality underlies all primitive myths. As practically all of the primitive traditional narratives have a mythic texture, an examination of the myth may help us to understand the nature and development of the epic.

[4] Lord Mackenzie, *Studies in Roman Law*, 5th ed., Edinburgh, 1880, 93; Sir H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, 4th ed., New York, 1906, 121ff.

[5] C. S. Wake, "The Nature and Origin of Group-Marriage," *J. A. I.*, 1884, xiii. 151.

The ultimate element in myth-making is feeling.[6] The myth is a product of the creative imagination, behind every effort of which is at least a momentary dissatisfaction. Emotion of some kind kindles imagination so that the old materials of knowledge or experience are rearranged. But why should man bring forth a myth rather than a scientific fact? Why should man invent myths when he might more profitably produce inventions in industrial art?

The answer to these questions is summed up in the term animism.[7] In the constant struggle with other creatures primitive man is obliged to ask himself the reason for the phenomena of daily life. Familiar phenomena are interpreted in terms of self. Man comes to believe that they are as capable of will-power as any human group. Every language contains traces[8] of the belief that animals and plants as well as inanimate objects like the sun, moon, clouds, winds, and rivers, are endowed with personality. From the standpoint of psychology this self-projection is anthropomorphism, from the standpoint of philosophy it is animism, and from that of rhetoric it is personification.

For instance, does not the breath of man resemble the wind? He breathes upon the tiny flame which he has laboriously kindled, and the effect is immediate. When a similar result is produced by the wind, it follows that the wind must be the breath of some invisible creature. The black demon[9] of the Fuegians and Botocudos was originally nothing more than the

[6] T. Vignoli, *Myth and Science*, New York, 1897, 13, 65; T. Ribot, *Essay on the Creative Imagination*, (trans.), Chicago, 1906, 32.

[7] Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 417, ii. 1 ff. Cf. Dewey, 222; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London, 1909 (espec. the chapter on pre-animistic religion).

[8] Survivals of animism are noticeable in the records of child games, in European and other folklore, and in rhetorical figures such as apostrophe, prosopopeia, and metaphor. For the standard exposition of Burmese animistic survivals see R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-seven Nats*, London, 1906; id., *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, xxxv. 217 ff.

[9] Such demons or nature-spirits become the elves, fairies, and goblins of the unsophisticated people of a higher culture.

starless night or the dark thunder-cloud personalised. The animistic philosophy is thus a theory of natural causes, crude yet serviceable, and subject to modification with the increase of positive knowledge.

Animism is evidently the result of analogical reasoning, a process which has had a potent influence upon the syntax and inflections of English and many other languages. Primitive man is perceptive rather than reflective, and he falls into an error which upon a smaller scale is repeated again and again in highly cultured communities. He fails to draw a clear distinction between similarity and identity. He neglects an essential element in the case.

Everywhere fallacies of false analogy assume various forms. The humorist hopes merely to amuse us when he declares that "midsummer days are the longest because heat expands," or that "a man swears at a dull razor because it was the first to lose its temper." False analogies, deliberate or unconscious, often reveal an accurate knowledge of some of the facts of a given situation, but the relation between them is erroneously conceived. It was Heine who mockingly uttered the prayer, "Heaven defend us from the Evil One and from metaphors."

Animism is a sublime example of egoism. Primitive man dwells in an egocentric or ethnocentric world. He is neither a child nor a fool, but he is ignorant of our discovery of the fixity and uniformity of natural law. He knows himself and his comrades better than any other objects in the world, and he interprets the unknown in terms of that which is best known. The boulder that thunders down the mountain side and the river that ripples toward the sea may seem alive to any man who is in a poetic mood. He is willing to forget that the rock and the water are obeying the power of gravitation, whereas primitive man knows nothing about such an abstraction. The fleeting fancy

of the civilised man is the serious attitude of his lowlier brother.

Primitive man's social environment as well as its religious, philosophic, and literary products spring from necessity. The hunter leads a practical life. If all natural phenomena are personal, he can perhaps influence them for his good. The Vedda, for instance, can propitiate these magic powers by offering and by prayers. The Eskimo, for example, can control the future food-supply by flattering the *inua* or spirits of the game he has captured. If these means do not at all times produce results, it is because of personal caprice on the part of a plant or an animal, or it may be due to some flaw in the hunter's ritual. In short, animism is the essential condition of myth-making and myth-belief. Mythology arose from the practical necessities of a world imperfectly understood, and it is this immature theory of the universe that lies behind the epic process in its earlier stages.

Cosmographic Myths

It is rather difficult to classify primitive myths, partly because of their inconsistency and partly because any proposed class contains elements belonging to another class. To some extent the inconsistency springs partly from the fact that some of the more ancient myths survive alongside those that are more recent, and partly from the occasional conscious or unconscious borrowing of foreign conceptions. For our purpose it may be sufficient to consider three classes, cosmographic, animal, and heroic myths.

The cosmographic myths attempt a description of the nature and appearance of natural phenomena such as the sky, sun, moon, stars, and derivative objects such as thunder, fire, and man himself. With two exceptions we have had occasion to observe such myths

among all the hunting tribes. When the Akkas and Obongo have been more carefully studied by travellers and others, we shall probably find that they too have explanations to offer concerning phenomena whose influence upon their welfare is supreme.

Everywhere myth involves the existence of religion, however crude. In its most comprehensive sense religion may be defined as the conception of superhuman potency. This does not imply worship of a Supreme Being or of any individual of less power. It merely signifies the acknowledgment of one or more animate objects that, under the guise of sun or moon, for instance, are capable of helping or hurting mankind. Such living objects beget awe by reason of their stupendous magical qualities, so that under these circumstances the proper attitude of man is deference. He must try to secure them as allies by whatever means his imagination and reason may suggest. Once a group of men adopt a certain religious attitude, they are afraid to introduce radical changes. The conservative power of ancient Greek religion, for example, is noticeable and perfectly natural. It was religious sentiment alone that preserved the prehistoric myths of the race in spite of the advance of philosophy and written literature.

To make a thorough analysis of primitive cosmographic myths would call for a special volume, so we shall content ourselves with a very brief consideration of two or three of the more significant features. The Kwai describe Sun as a man, whereas the Australian, Andamanese, and Semang tribes are satisfied that Sun is a woman. The Semang also regard Moon as a woman, whereas the Australian, Andamanese, and Botocudo tribes believe that Moon is masculine. Though the Kwai moon is originally a shoe, it is not a common shoe. In harmony with the animistic philosophy it is endowed with the magic qualities of its

primal divine owner. Again, we must remember that all of these men and women of the skies are gifted with superhuman potency; they are virtually gods and goddesses.

The stellar are not of such high rank as the solar and lunar myths. The Andamanese aver that the stars, offspring of Sun and Moon, are of both sexes, while the Semang claim that they are children of Moon. The latter is the more subtle view. Moon and stars are seen together in the heavens like an earthly mother and her little children. Some of the Australian and Eskimo tribes, like the ancient Greeks and Egyptians,[10] believe that certain bygone heroes were transformed into constellations. Myth, hero-worship, and early epic process are never far apart.

Among the more interesting terrestrial myths are those that concern the origin of fire and of man. The Kwai and Australian tribes look back to a prehuman supernatural race, resembling in some respects the Titans of ancient Greece. The Australian tale concerning Hawk's tricky theft of fire is paralleled in Hellenic mythology. It was this prehuman Australian race that took pity on certain amorphous objects to which they gave human shape and full vitality. To explain the introduction of fire upon earth the Andamanese relate the timely kindness of Puluga, who is both god and culture hero. It is he also who made the first man, swarthy as the Andamanese.

To primitive man the value of such myths is real and definite. They strengthen faith in self without which no good work can be done anywhere. Second, they afford that exercise for imagination without which man could never have learned to invent weapons, tools, and other objects that help to raise even the lowliest tribes far above the highest of the other mammals. Thirdly, such myths pave the way for the more ex-

[10] Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, xxi. Cf. Joseph's dream, *Genesis*, xxxi. 9.

alted and exalting forms of religion, science, philosophy, and literature.

From the standpoint of higher culture the primitive cosmographic myths are hopefully suggestive. Man's present advancement is at once a record and a prophecy, and perhaps the prophecy might be the more speedily realised if we cared to learn one lesson from our lowlier brethren. Is it not remarkable that "savages" like the African Bushmen or the Australian blackfellows should interest themselves in the solar and stellar systems, while many people of refinement are indifferent to the harmonious flight of the myriads of stars?

If it were possible to focus the educational potency that lurks in the cosmographic myths, we might do worse than make their study a starting-point from which to interest our juvenile friends in astronomy. If a youth desires to enlarge his conception of the meaning of life, he must strive to obtain a glimpse of the grandeur amidst which he dwells. Fields of blue, vacant to the naked eye, blossom out into gleaming galaxies at the glance of the telescope, while the photographic lens reveals still other hosts beyond its ken. Light travels 186,000 miles per second, and yet it is nearly fifty years in reaching us from the North Star. Such distances overwhelm us. Would there not be fewer sordid souls upon earth, if children were taught something of the majesty of that material framework in the midst of which they dwell, glimmerings of which may be caught by the Eskimo children as they dance in honour of the Aurora Borealis or listen to the tales of the stars as told by their elders?

Animal Myths

In some degree every man is an anthropomorphist, for he reads himself into everything he sees. He is obliged to interpret everything in the light of his own

experience, and he cares but little for facts or phenomena except in so far as they have human interest. If the tiny maiden did not believe that the doll could understand her, little would she care for the plaything. We have already seen how and why animism is a sort of colossal egotism. Without any mental reservation the hunting tribes give a man-soul to animate or inanimate objects which they see around them, and this system of belief the philosopher calls animism. We have seen that it is a hypothesis which seeks to account for all natural phenomena, except those which in the hunter's judgment are too obvious to require explanation. Animism not only makes lifeless objects animate, but it endows them with personality,[11] with attributes which are essentially like those of primitive man himself, though upon a grander scale.

The cosmographic myths deal mainly with what we call the inorganic world, whereas the animal myths [12] are mainly concerned with the unhuman organic world. The latter tales strive to interpret much of the organic realm, plant myths being incidental thereto. Primitive man knows animals and plants better than other natural objects; indeed he is compelled to know them well by reason of their constant relation to the food-quest.

The doctrine of animism is not so absurd as to give life to things that already are alive. It merely endows living as well as lifeless objects with exaggerated man-like qualities, and when these hyperbolised objects occupy a special relation to humanity they are said to be totemic. In other words totemism [13] is simply a modification of the general doctrine of animism.

[11] Cf. Payne, i. 526; Hartland, i. 179; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, 125; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 285, ii. 205.

[12] Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 467, ii. 230.

[13] Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, Edinburgh, 1887; H. J. Ford, "The Meaning of Totemism," *Ann. Amer. Acad. Polit. and Soc. Sci.*, xxiii. 3; C. Hill-Tout, "Totemism," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, Ottawa, 1903–4, ix. 61 ff; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 4 vols., London, 1910; *Rev. Theol. and Philos.*, Edinburgh, 1910, vi. 257.

A totem represents a class of objects which primitive man regards with veneration by reason of their kinship with himself. Between man and totem exists a mutual understanding in virtue of which each aids the other. A totem is not the same as a fetish. A totem always stands for a class of objects usually of the animal or vegetable kingdom, though occasionally the totem is from our standpoint inanimate. The fetish represents no class of objects. It is almost always something material, as a rule artificial, supposed to have supernatural attributes, though never regarded as a progenitor of man.

The chief kind of totem is that of the group. The Seri of northwestern Mexico regard themselves as more nearly akin to their animal associates than to any alien tribe or people, and their speech is largely zoöglossic. It is not so much that other animals know man because he is near, but they are near because they know man, and it is a delusion to fancy that the hunting tribes have conscious aspirations toward a literary treatment of nature. What appeals to them is the kinship in nature rather than its æsthetic qualities.

The Seri clans are named after their respective totems, the pelican, turtle, and rattlesnake. Members of the pelican clan, for instance, feel bound together by obligations to each other and by a common faith in the totemic bird, whose descendants or living representatives or blood-relations are certain men and pelicans. Thus it follows that totemism, whether in the old world or the new, may have both a social and a religious aspect.

As totemism is still one of the vexed questions of anthropology,[14] anything that may be written is tentative, useful to us merely as tending to throw light upon the philosophy of animal myths and their

[14] Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, ii. 235; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1896–1907, i. 89ff., iii. 61f.; W. Wundt, "Anfänge d. Gesellschaft," *Psychol. Studien*, 1907, iii. 1 ff.

relation to the evolution of the epos. There is no doubt about the vital connection of totemism with primitive social life. With the emergence from the undifferentiated horde of persons such as the Seri clan mothers and the Semang chiefs, we behold fortunate individuals who have special means of communion with local animals. Marriage customs such as exogamy may also have had their beginning through belief in a totemic ancestry.

In its religious aspect totemism offers a reason for zoölatry [15] with its hundreds of descriptive myths. The primitive belief in metempsychosis leads men to suppose that beast soul and human soul are interchangeable, and animals come to be regarded as incarnations of the departed souls of men. After physical death the Semang chiefs continue to live and act in the form of tiger or elephant. Thus arises the taboo forbidding the eating of certain animals or plants, a custom which is really a lowly form of ancestor worship with its implication of a future state.

In short, totemism is not only a characteristic of primitive social thought, which finds occasional expression in mimetic dance and chant and animal myth, but it possibly has attenuated survivals in the higher culture of Europe. In some cases at least this must have been the conscious or unconscious motive in naming certain constellations [16] and in assuming certain personal names.[17] It can be demonstrated that the fables had their origin in totemism, and perhaps there is much the same beginning for the waving plumes of naval and military dignitaries, many of the designs of heraldry,[18] some of the animal designs of

[15] T. Achelis, "Animal Worship," *The Open Court*, Chicago, 1897, xi. 705.

[16] Cf. J. F. Hewitt, *Primitive Traditional History*, 2 vols., London, 1907, i. 32, 199 (worship of the Great Bear as the seven pigs of the Pole-Star sow by the sons of the parent oak-tree, who were in Greece the Pelasgians).

[17] For example, Xantippe (Greek), Catullus (Latin), Bjornesen (Norse), Strauss (German), Mahan (Irish), Shaw (Scots), Drake, etc.

[18] Cf. *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, 1898, xvii. 230 (Kiowa heraldry).

weather vanes,[19] the time-honored custom of keeping certain pet animals,[20] and some of the quaintest expressions of colloquial phraseology.[21]

Animal myths have been noted among most of the hunting tribes, and probably they are universally current. These animal myths comprise beast stories such as those of the Kwai baboon, the Australian wallaby and water-rat, the Semang elephant and tapir, the Eskimo whale and bear; bird stories such as those of the Australian pheasant, the Andamanese blackbird, the Semang rhinoceros-bird, the Seri pelican; reptile stories such as those of the Semang python[22] and dragon as well as the Seri turtle and rattlesnake; fish stories such as those of the Australian cod and eel, the Andamanese eel, the Seri shark; and insect stories such as those of the Kwai locust, the Andamanese caterpillar, the Semang firefly and stick-insect. Fortunately or unfortunately exigencies of space forbid an analysis of the more significant features of the few typical aboriginal tales cited in previous chapters.

Hunting, warfare, sorcery practices, nubility ceremonies, industries, and arts are all in some measure dependent upon early esoteric beliefs with their consequent myths. Though social customs are tenacious of life, their primary meaning tends to become veiled in the mists of time, a truth that is illustrated by the folklore of Europe[23] and other lands. Under such circumstances men keep on doing what their fathers

[19] Cf. K. Peixoto, "Os cataventos," *Portugalia*, Porto, 1907, ii. 439 ff.

[20] Cf. N. W. Thomas, "O mercado de grillos," *A Tradicao*, 1900, ii. 9. For classical allusions to pet animals see Ovid, *Am.*, ii. 6; Martial, i. 7, 109; Catullus, iii. 1.

[21] There is, for instance, the common English phrase, "A little bird told me." Compare the bird-language of the *Märchen*.

[22] Although the python is regarded as Moon's mother-in-law in the guise of a snake, the Semang do not look upon this interpretation as a joke. A knowledge of the relation of such stories to ophiolatry is of value for the student of early religion and literature—Babylonian, Egyptian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, etc.

[23] N. W. Thomas, *Folk-lore*, xi. 227; S. Reinach, *Revue Celtique*, xxi. 269; V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, "Animali totem e animali medicinali," *Atti d. Soc. Rom. di Antr.*, 1903, ix. 161ff. (theriolatry).

did [24] without any other reason. Changing conditions gradually transform totemic thought out of which have sprung ritual and animal myth. These in turn differentiate, the former pointing the way to new forms of religion and drama, the latter transforming and dividing itself into Aesopic fable, beast-epic, and animal romance, in addition to biological science.

Never are fables repeated by the hunting tribes. Fables do not arise in groups so primitive. The animal myth is simply the necessary forerunner of the fable. Myth becomes fable only when there is a transmutation of motive. The animal myth is the inevitable product of a lowly community whose imagination is coloured by totemic beliefs, whereas the fable is invented in a higher culture in order to point a moral or adorn a tale. It is only when man's earlier intimacy with the organic world succumbs to rational analysis that the fable evolves from the more spontaneous animal myth.

Heroic Myths or Legends

Mythology deals with primitive man's explanation of natural phenomena in general, whereas legend usually connotes only social or human phenomena. Originally the term legend signified something to be read during worship or at meals, but now it commonly implies a narrative based on communal tradition. In modern usage a legend is an episode or a story wreathed in a deceptive glamour of the myth-making imagination. Heroic myth or legend is a species of idealised history. It may have a basis of fact with a superstructure of unconscious fiction, but the possible element of reality as a rule is no longer capable of historical verification.

As far as primitive society is concerned, it seems clear enough that ritual precedes myth and legend. A

[24] Aristotle, *Poetics*, xxv. 7, 8.

recent event is readily rehearsed in song or story, but when the original circumstances have been effaced from memory, the call comes for interpretation however crude. When an explanation, mythical or legendary, is deemed desirable, any custom can easily be linked with something more or less obvious to primitive modes of thought. As reason begins to emerge from emotion, it is not entirely satisfied with the lyric cry, and thus it insists upon expression such as shall charge emotion with a fuller significance. Hence comes the epic purpose in art, at first subordinate to the lyric and dramatic, each knit to the others until all three have grown strong enough to achieve comparative independence.

Do we not recollect those epic comedies and tragedies that sprang up in Europe [25] about eight centuries ago? According to the opinion of their birthtime they are dramas, yet in form they are narrative poems. They contain plenty of dialogue, and when tired of current motives, they go back to the classics for plot as well as episode. It is of no immediate concern whether those narrative dialogues were written by or for minstrels or college students. With that medieval fusion or confusion before our eyes, we may feel more inclined to be lenient in our judgment of primitive narrative, a phrase which, with its background of myth and legend, serves mainly to mark tendencies that eventually lead away from song and drama.

It is usually assumed that the earliest heroic epic is a narrative poem suitable for recitation, a conception which is borrowed from the Greek heroic epos. The popular conception is not that of modern scholars. In their present form the verse embodiments of Greek heroic saga are anything but primitive.[26] Even a so-

[25] Creizenach, i. 12, 20, 510; Chambers, ii. 210.

[26] R. C. Jebb, *Homer*, Boston, 1893, 1, 3, 12; G. Murray, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*, New York, 1897, 4; J. Clark, *History of Epic Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1900, 6; J. P. Mahaffy, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, 2 vols., 4th ed., London, 1903–8, i. Pt. 1, 2, 17, 91, etc.

called simple epic like the *Iliad* is enormously complex as compared with the first rude forms of the clan stage[27] of society. Already we have seen that in its embryonic form the epos is simply an improvisation of current or recent events. The Eskimo tribes have reached the stage of narrative recitation, but they are by far the most advanced of the hunting tribes. The rule among such tribes has been narrative chanting mingled with dancing, gesticulation,[28] and instrumental playing. Still undivorced are dance rhythm and narrative metre.[29]

Myth-making persists to-day,[30] not only among the lowliest tribes but among people of far higher culture, though in the latter case it is restrained by the growing power of abstraction. If the popular imagination receives the slightest encouragement, it is quick to indulge in hero-worship or its autithesis. To a nucleus of fact the majority of men, by a process of unconscious idealisation, attach much similar and pre-existent material that lacks definite paternity. Thus it is that the cynics have room to allege that William Tell's apple is one of a class of objects found in all lands. At every man's elbow stands Time, now wearing the jester's cap and bells, again the noble physician healing wounds and veiling unalterable weaknesses. It is Time that dowers the heroic myth with its highest potentiality. Dignity comes to the saga only when men have reached that reflective stage in which words and deeds are unconsciously glorified in the alembic of memory. In the silver of moonlight all baser substances are redeemed, and it is always full moon in the days of long ago.

[27] Aristotle, *Poetics*, xxiv. 2.

[28] The primitive mood still lingers amidst the refinement of the Aristotelian age. Gesticulation accompanies the lyric contest as well as the recitation of the narrative poem. *Poetics*, xxvi. 3.

[29] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1899, i. 272 (representation of myth in dance).

[30] W. W. Newell, "Individual and Collective Characteristics in Folk-Lore," *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1906, xix. 3; Ribot, *Creative Imag.*, 136.

The themes of primitive legends are terse, concrete, and vitally related to the entire camp group. Impressionistic are some of those word-pictures, but the tribal mind can fill in the outline without the aid of oral effort. Neither the black demons of the Fuegians and Botocudos nor the three superhuman figures of Semang mythology can be regarded as true heroes. Hoc-higan is a rather dubious hero of the Kwai mythology, and the Australian Paralina is too far beyond the human to be entitled to such an honour. The closest approximation to Vedda heroes are disembodied ancestors, who in the constant rivalry between good and evil spirits play the part of guardian angels to their living kinsmen.

Perhaps the best examples of primitive heroic myths have been recorded among the Andamanese and the Eskimo. The Andamanese legend of Berebi is typical. Long long ago a clan-mother had a man-child named Kolwot, whose deeds kept pace with his waxing strength, until his fame spread abroad. Berebi was another brave, and the day came when his heart told him that now was the time for his rival to die. It was at the beginning of the rainy season that Berebi went to the mother and son with soft voice and asked if he might sail with them in their canoe. Bearing a rusty axe [31] and a whetstone Berebi with their consent stepped aboard. Laying down his axe and stone he seized the youth by the arm, sniffed at it from hand to shoulder in feigned admiration, muttering that he longed to colour his lips with blood.[32] Suddenly Berebi buried his teeth in the arm of Kolwot. Not all his efforts could free his teeth from the flesh, and

[31] The allusion to a rusty axe instead of a stone one may be the sort of anachronism that is always apt to arise in the course of oral transmission. This alone is no proof that the saga is recent.

[32] Herodotus alleges that the ancient Lydians and Medes swore eternal friendship by drinking human blood, and Plato has the same opinion of the Atlantic islesmen. Tacitus avers that Asiatic potentates swore allegiance in a similar way. Cf. Gould and Pyle, 409; Carmichael, ii. 282 (Scottish Gaels). See also Shakespeare's *Tit. And.*, III. i. 22.

he fell at the hands of the dead man's kinsmen. Thereupon were the bodies given to the sea, and it came to pass that the youthful hero was changed into a lizard, the victorious rival into a poisonous fish.

The canoe narrative may be historic, but how are we to account for the metamorphosis? The mythic elements in the legend are in perfect harmony with the habitual attitude of primitive thought. The salient part of the narrative is cast into metre moulded in the heat of the dance, and the few metrical lines are sufficient to suggest the dialogue and its sequel. For such tribes the realm of reality and the realm of imagination are not separate worlds, but each is the natural counterpart of the other.

The heroic myth has proved most fruitful in the epic process, yet its scope among the hunting tribes is very limited. The truth is that the real heroic myth is not at all common among such tribes; indeed most of them are absolutely without these legends. It is not because valour is rarely displayed by warlike tribes like the Kwai, Andamanese, Semang, Botocudos, and Seri. Where all men are hunters and fighters, it is not individual courage but cowardice that becomes noticeable. The only hero who has a chance of being singled out for notice is the chief, but as a rule his influence is transient. While he enjoys certain privileges over his fellows, he is usually regarded as nothing more than first among his equals. It is only when the chief attains comparatively high political power that others are tempted to make him the central figure of a heroic lay or saga.

Poetry and Prose

Is poetry older than prose? An affirmative answer is necessary as soon as we recollect that oral narrative seems to be the primary prose type. No matter how crude it may appear, oral narration must have evolved

later than dance-song, whose simplest form is nothing more than a rhythmic utterance of emotion. If sensation precedes perception, if emotion is an earlier manifestation than reflection, then lyric verse, which is a verbal outlet of emotion, is apparently prior in genesis to the simplest possible prose. Rhythmic expression of emotion can scarcely be later than current or traditional narrative in prose rhythms. It is only when conversation submits to regulation that it acquires æsthetic quality and thus becomes oral prose.

Prose is born of ordinary conversation, but in undeveloped communities gesture plays an important part. With an inadequate vocabulary gesture is naturally the easier to employ, and besides it is more vivid than verbal sorcery. If it can express no subtleties of fancy or reason, unsophisticated man with but few wants feels no call for delicacy of expression. As a mode of communication with strangers oral language is almost useless, whereas all but the blind can apprehend some gestures.

On the other hand, poetry was in the making when men had learned to utter rhythmical cries. Over and over again they might sing one word with varying pitch and speed, their fancy playing different themes upon this solitary string.

As compared with the cumulative passion of the dance ordinary dialogue is cold and colourless. The love of rhythm, accentuated by the collective dance, brings forth wordless song which points, however vaguely, toward the vista of poetry. For many ages the race between poetry and prose was a handicap in which prose was outdistanced, until the spirit of analytic inquiry kindled in the heart of prose a high flame of excellence.

Action, emotion, and narration find expression in primitive poetry, whereas narration alone assumes the form of what may properly be termed primitive prose.

Without resistance poetry stole into the citadel of the human soul, but prose had to take it by storm. It was the inherent charm of myth and legend that first led to the halting prose of tribes like those of Australia and Fuegia, and thence upward to the poetic prose of the Eskimo. On the other hand, it was in the delirious fellowship of kin with kind, it was when heart clung to heart in the dreamland of the dance, that poetry learned to outstrip the broken sentences of common speech. There it was that poetry first won man's soul, and in return dowered him with the gift of self-revelation, of passing out of himself through measured tones and words.

CHAPTER XI

BARBARIC LITERATURE OF AFRICA

The student of primitive literature is driven to the conclusion that racial characteristics are too elusive to be of much service in the field of literary criticism. Among unrelated tribes of hunters we have observed so many coincidences of creed and custom that evidently the blood of the group tells less upon literary products than does environment, and physical is less important than social environment. It is the psychic rather than the physical nature of primitive man that determines the quality and quantity of his æsthetic activities, and it is the psychic expression of men rather than man that is the more significant in the evolution of literary art.

The classification of mankind according to culture-grades does not imply a simple chain of sequence; it may, however, indicate the general development of ideas among phenomena both manifold and intricate. Those ethnic groups that possess the greater cumulation of experiences exhibit a finer adjustment to external nature and human character. The greater the experience that is transmitted by one generation to another, the easier it is to acquire knowledge that is new to mankind. The conservation of the old and the discovery of the new knowledge secure an increase of insight and foresight as well as advance in nature conquest. Whether it is peace or war that brings two or more tribes into intimate relationship, the usual ultimate result is greater enlightenment. The more diverse the previous customs of the new mingling elements, the more speedily do men learn to emphasise

rights rather than rites. In every grade of culture bigotry is invariably an outcome of provincialism, and primitive life is an extreme type thereof. Purely local considerations are dominant. Perhaps no man's education is fairly complete until, leaving the people among whom he has been reared, he has witnessed a form of society or a set of customs different from those of his own childhood and adolescence. It is for this reason that commercial nations are inclined to be more tolerant than those that are self-complacent and unprogressive.

In studying the primitive tribes it is impossible to overlook the constant close connection between feast and dance and song. The festival is seen to be the chief stimulus of pantomime and chant and prose epic. Three great dietetic advances have marked the evolution of humanity. Beginning existence by dependence upon wild fruits and such creatures as could be caught by hand, man first learned to hunt and fish after he had invented bow or spear. Second, he learned to cook his increased variety of food. Finally, by the ingenious device of cibiculture [1] he almost eliminated the element of chance in the food-supply.

It is the third stage of dietetic advance that constitutes one of the distinctions between primitive and barbaric tribes. In certain regions of the earth primitive men first made pets of young animals or learned to tame the wild adults, while some unknown genius of womankind pointed out to her neighbours the advantage of cultivating certain wild plants, in quest of which they had previously run many a risk. Thus were the dangers and inconstancies of life reduced, and thus arose wider opportunities for the development of artistic and other social activities. We shall have occasion to observe among barbaric tribes a higher

[1] Zooculture is the breeding of animals, and agriculture the raising of vegetable products for purposes of food. Cibiculture comprises both.

counterpart of the economic, political, ethical, and æsthetic coördination manifested in primitive society. As in the case of the hunting tribes it will be necessary to consider only a few salient examples of the literary and coördinate manifestations of those cibicultural communities that have not passed beyond tribal government.

1. Camma

The Camma[2] or Commi, who dwell near the West African river Rembo, are now mostly under French influence. The various clans of the tribe have headmen or chiefs who at one time recognised a great chief or king. Murder is condoned by a fine, and no distinction seems to be drawn between accidental and wilful homicide, though the people are great sticklers for social etiquette.

a. Dances

The Camma engage in both social and mimetic dances.[3] The former constitute an amusement for both sexes, and they are performed with appropriate gestures and amorous words. In the moonlight the young men range themselves in line opposite the women. Like the waves on the sea-beach they advance and retire, the men's chorus calling forth from the women a chanted response punctuated by clapping of the hands.

The Gorilla dance belongs to the mimetic class. Before starting on a gorilla hunt this dance is executed at night in order to placate the forest deities. In the slave-house sit three old men whose faces are streaked with chalk. It is their duty to play the drum,

[2] W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, New York, 1864, 145; Wood, i. 509; Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, 144.
[3] Reade, 162, 164; Wood, i. 509; Du Chaillu, *E. A.*, 144.

the sounding-log, and the one-stringed bow. To their music dances another slave who rehearses the clumsy movements of a gorilla. An iron bell rings, and Ombuiri, the evil spirit, is invited to draw near. With shouts other dancers appear and leap into the air. At intervals they stand still, the silence broken only by the faint notes of the harp. As the dance increases in speed, the drum is beaten with vigour, while sticks smite the hollow log. In the second act of this pantomime the original dancer mimics the habits of the gorilla. He sits on the ground, legs spread out, head drooping, and on his features a brute-like expression. Sometimes his hands rest on his knees, at other times they are on his forehead. Suddenly with ears alert and eyes aflame his head becomes erect, while shouts of approval come from the spectators. In the chorus all the dancers take their cue from the chief performer, who finally climbs like a gorilla up the pole which supports the roof of the slave-pen. In the last act he imitates the death-scene. He represents the gorilla's fear and hesitation until, brought to bay, it springs at the hunters, falling dead as it is about to clutch one of them in revenge for the fatal shot. The performance lasts till cock-crow.

b. Songs

The Camma have canoe songs, fetish songs, as well as songs of love and war. At one time the Camma fancied that white men live under the sea and that their garments are skins of marine monsters. Brass rods, tobacco, and white beads typify wealth in this part of Africa. This is a song [4] descriptive of the white man, and possibly idealised by passing through the white man's brain:

> In the blue palace of the deep sea
> Dwells a creature strange.

[4] Reade, 159, 195.

His skin as white as salt;
His hair long and tangled as sea-weed.
He is greater than the princes of earth;
He is clothed with the skins of fishes—
Fishes more lovely than birds.
His house is built of rods of brass;
His garden is a forest of tobacco;
On his soil are white beads scattered
Like sand-grains on the sea-shore.

c. Mythic Tales

Fetishism,[5] the cause of many a tragedy, is common throughout Western Equatorial Africa. Evil spirits dislike noise, hence the Camma beat drums, shout, dance, and sing, so as to drive the demon out of a person who is ill. In parts of China gongs or bells [6] are employed for the same laudable purpose. There is also a Camma trial by ordeal, which consists in drinking a poisonous decoction. If one survive, he is innocent.

Camma mythology is in need of investigation. That these negroes have a certain nimbleness of fancy is well exhibited in the parable or short allegory [7] told by a chief to the white stranger. "There was a man named Njabi. He had four sons, Eye, Nose, Mouth, and Skin. He had one daughter whose name was Heart. She was never at rest and made him visit countries far away. He went to see his brother Qua-qua. There was one man, Seringilla, a great liar and tale-bearer. He tried to make these two brothers enemies; but they remained friends and burnt this liar and tale-bearer, Seringilla. Then their two towns were joined together. The town of Njabi and the town of Qua-qua became one, but Njabi was the chief. You are Njabi and I am Qua-qua. If any man makes mischief between us, we will burn him."

[5] Reade, 215; Wood, i. 514.
[6] European and American survivals may be seen in any belfry, whose bell originally drove evil spirits away from church.
[7] Reade, 159.

2. Dinkas

The Dinkas[8] are typical Nilotic negroes or Nigritians of the Eastern Sudan, their territory being watered by the eastern tributaries of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. There are five clans of Dinkas, the Agar being strongest. They will fight in behalf of their herds sooner than for their wives and homes. Social position depends upon the number of cattle that a man owns, and the excellent fighting qualities of these clans are the outcome of the constant need to guard or acquire cattle. The men also engage in hunting and fishing, while the women cultivate patches of tobacco, pumpkin, and other crops. Wives are obtained by paying to the bride's father five or more oxen; girls of other tribes may be captured. There are laws regulating fishing rights, marriage, divorce, and crime. The village chief, upheld by the power of public opinion, is expected to enforce the laws of tribal custom.

a. Dances

As the Dinka dances are in no way remarkable, a description of them may be omitted.

b. Songs

The Dinka orchestra comprises war drums, horns, whistles, and rude stringed instruments with a very limited number of notes. The songs[9] are monotonous to the ears of a foreigner. They consist of words rapidly enunciated in unison, the air being of a very simple nature. The singers keep good time and illus-

[8] Schweinfurth, i. 159f., 164; A. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, London, 1887, 366; H. F. Helmolt, *History of the World*, 8 vols., New York, 1903, iii. 482; Sir C. Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate*, London, 1905, 132, 239. Cf. A. H. Keane, "Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan," *J. A. I.*, xiv. 93.

[9] S. L. Cummins, "Sub-tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1904, xxxiv. 161.

trate the words with befitting pantomime, which generally leads to the excitement of the dance. The leading theme of the choral chants is cattle, but others refer to war, love, and religion. All of them show a keen appreciation of nature. English versions of three Dinka songs [10] are herewith submitted.

The Lucky Herdsman

The white bull, shining like the sun, is a joy to the women.
His horns are like the masts of ships.
The ruler of the world delights in him.
His hump is so high that it towers above the high grass.
And that bull is my aunt's and she is giving him to me.

The Heroic Herdsman

I have a red bull with twisted horns;
He is so big that men can sit and rest in his shadow.
He went into the lands of the people and ate their beans.
The land trembled because of him.
My father is a proud man at my greatness:
Like a lion am I, and my enemies are scattered before me.
"Where," says he, "in the world is there another like my son?"

Another Pastoral Poem

My bull is as white as the silvery fish in the river—
As white as the egret on the river bank—
As white as new milk.
His bellowing is like the roar of the Turk's cannon from the great river.
My bull is dark as the raincloud that comes with the storm.
He is like summer and winter—
Half of him dark as the thundercloud;
Half of him as white as sunshine.
His hump shines like the morning star.
His forehead is as red as the hornbill's wattles.
His forehead is like a banner—seen by the people from afar.
He is like the rainbow.
I shall water him at the river, and drive
My enemies from the water with my spear.
Let *them* water their cattle at the well;
The river for me and my bull.
Drink, O bull, of the river. Am I not here with
My spear to protect you?

[10] Cummins, 161 f.

c. Mythic Tales

Deng-deet is the name of the Dinka god, who is regarded as the creator or the actual father of mankind, more especially of the Dinkas. As he has wonderful power, he is capable of doing harm, and so it is wise to woo and win his favour with sacrifices. As the god is really a reflection of an ideal Dinka hero, prayer is needless. Deeds are better than words. Snakes [11] are regarded with respect. Hostile individuals or clans can employ the evil eye, charm roots or stones into the bodies of victims, and cast spells over the road which foes are likely to travel. To checkmate these forms of black magic the Dinkas wear personal amulets for good luck, and in matters of importance they consult the professional conjurer [12] or witch-doctor, who sometimes is an expert in therapeutic herbs. When the spirits of ancestors appear, it is a sure sign of approaching trouble. In the forms of ordinary men the ghosts sometimes dwell in distant villages, but they also assume the forms of lions, leopards, hyenas, and other wild beasts.

The Bowl of Fat [13]

Deng-deet has a wife called A-buk. His father-in-law or brother-in-law is Lwal Burrajok. At one time men could follow a path between heaven and earth at will. One day A-buk was making men and women from a bowl of fat. Deng-deet gave her fat for that purpose. She was softening the fat over the fire. She moulded the figures from it with her fingers.[14]

[11] Schweinfurth, i. 158.
[12] Featherman, 36; Cummins, 157, 159f.
[13] Cummins, 157f.
[14] This is what a Dinka would do with moist clay. The elephant, next to the ox, is the favourite animal for reproduction in clay. Similar clay models are common in Zululand. Dinka songs, stories, and all progressions in art are inspired by the one great interest—cattle. The forms of stools, pillows, and other objects are suggestive of beast shapes. Cf. Cummins, 160.

When A-buk's work was done, the figure passed down the road to earth. Deng-deet was passing by. He cautioned her against Lwal who was in an evil mood. A-buk forgot the warning. She went to the forest to fetch wood, leaving the bowl on the fire. There Lwal found it. He drank some of the fat. He spilt some on the ground. He began to make models with the rest. Out of mischief he made them badly—eyes, nose, mouth, shut and useless. He was afraid of Deng-deet's anger, so he followed the earth road. A-buk returned. She was horrified. She hastened to tell Deng-deet. Lwal expected pursuit, so he persuaded the bird Atoi-toish to bite through the path with its bill. Lwal reached earth in safety. He resolved to make all the cripples (Deng-deet's failures) well again. He took a lame man. He passed an iron through him. He plunged him in the boiling fat on the fire. Thus might he mould him anew. The people who saw were in terror. Off they ran.

The Heavenly Cattle [15]

Deng-deet lives at Wool Kerigok. Thither go the souls of the dead. It is four moons' journey to the east and across the river Toj-bol-engol. In that land the sheep are as big as oxen, and the cattle are huge. Among the bamboos on the river bank are bees. So big are they that they can slay a man with their sting. It is like a spear. On the way are lions many. Meri-ang, chief of the lions, is there. For many years he seized each passing soul before it could reach the river. Deng-deet bound him with an iron collar. The ghosts now pass in safety. In the land of Wool Kerigok there is but one tree. It is leafless. It has two branches—right and left like the horns of an ox. Men can look across the river. They even see the cattle on

[15] Cummins, 158. Cf. A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, 271, 288.

the other side. If they take canoes and try to cross, they become foolish. They lose the way and are lucky if they get back.

3. Wanyamwezi

The Wanyamwezi[16] are one of the most important tribes classed as Eastern Bantus, and they inhabit a great portion of what is now called German East Africa. At one time they had an elective monarch whose power was absolute. Great chiefs of districts were nominated by the people and appointed by the king. There were also vassal chiefs over lands that had been annexed by conquest. Each man had his own arable land over which he had full control, so long as he tilled it and shared the harvest with the king and the district chief. Crops are alternated annually or biennially. If treated with tact and firmness the Wanyamwezi make excellent porters by reason of their strength and endurance, and they are not easily scared by the hardships of a long march in unfamiliar territory. In mechanic art some of them are fairly proficient. Friendship is sealed by the ceremony of blood brotherhood between a foreigner and a great chief, a malediction being pronounced upon him who breaks the solemn tie.

a. Dances

Simultaneous song and dance prevail as in almost all parts of Africa, the dance being linked with gesture-language or pantomime. These saltatory performances occur at weddings and other social festivities.

At the village of Isikisa the Mfumu or witch-doctor appeared[17] with five men who beat tom-toms

[16] H. M. Stanley, *How I found Livingstone*, New York, 1872, 540; id., *Through the Dark Continent*, 2 vols., New York, 1878, i. 52, 493, 498; Lionel Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, 336, 342, 348.
[17] Decle, 356f.

with little sticks. A zebra's mane was his headdress, two belts of goat skin crossed his chest, and anklets adorned him still further. In front of the drums he began to walk in a circle, gradually increasing his pace until he broke into a run. Suddenly he stopped. He began a jig while he sang a solo which was taken up by the onlookers. Without warning he heaved his chest, stretched out his arms, and fell to the ground. Upon rising he struck one of the drums twice or thrice, began another song with its concomitant chorus, and danced as before. This performance began in the afternoon and lasted till long after sunset. The audience was so carried away by it that men and women stripped off necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments, throwing them at the feet of the medical gentleman who had entertained them. Without a word he picked up the gifts, laid them down in front of the drum orchestra, and passed into the darkness.

At the village of Itogo the chief had twelve professional dancers.[18] As a headdress each of the twelve wore a tuft of guinea-fowls' feathers, in the middle of which waved a white ostrich plume. Each dancer wore sandals made of five or six strips of leather so arranged as to clatter each time the foot struck the ground. The conductor stood in the midst of a circle formed by the dancers. He began a solo whose air was in four-time, a sort of African polka. The dancers accompanied the director with voice and foot. The first two beats were danced on one foot with the other raised; at the third the raised foot came down with a vigorous stamp; the fourth beat was received in silence, while the other foot in turn was raised. At the close of each verse the performers took up the chant in chorus. Next they began to leap into the air, and on coming down smote the ground rapidly

[18] Decle, 363 f. Cf. Stanley, *Livingstone*, 620 (impromptu mask-dance); Helmolt, iii. 442.

with both feet in succession. The onlookers enjoyed this dance, and at intervals pointed with their fingers toward the dancer who excelled his comrades.

b. Songs

Like all negroes the Wanyamwezi are fond of music, and many of them are good improvisers. The latest personal gossip or political news finds expression in verse. The tunes are familiar even when the words are new. A song may appear to be new, although it is merely a revised version [19] of traditional stanzas, appropriate changes being made in the names of persons and places. Such a custom is eminently favourable to the birth of parody. At weddings the friends of bride and bridegroom chant phrases that are too realistic [20] to please a person of refined taste. In order to ward off sorcery a series of magic songs is intoned or chanted by the witch-doctor. At the end of each couplet of the first song, the people respond with a long dull murmur, the solo and response occupying about half-an-hour. Magic ceremonies, consisting of song and dance mingled with dramatic symbolism, may last nearly three hours.

The following impromptu chant called forth the enthusiasm of the white traveller,[21] who alludes to its fine rhythm, passion, and epic beauty. The director of music is on his knees and two or three times lowers his head into a hole in the ground. A kneeling choir repeat the last words of a slow pathetic refrain. This is said to be a literal translation:

Director. Oh—oh—oh! the white man is going home!
Choir. Oh—oh—oh! going home!
Going home, oh—oh—oh!
Director. To the happy island on the sea,
Where the beads are plenty, oh—oh—oh!

[19] Stanley, *Livingstone*, 549; Decle, 347, 365.
[20] The Fescennine verses form an excellent parallel. Cf. Catullus, lxi. 114 ff.; Livy, vii. 2; Horace, *Epodes*, ii. 1, 145; Virgil, *Aeneid*, vii. 695.
[21] Stanley, *Livingstone*, 621.

Choir. Oh—oh—oh! where the beads are plenty,
Oh—oh—oh!
Director. While Singiri (a chief) has kept us, oh, very long
From our homes very long, oh—oh—oh!
Choir. From our homes, oh—oh—oh!
Oh—oh—oh!
Director. And we have had no food for very long—
We are half starved, oh, for so long
Bana Singiri!
Choir. For so very long, oh—oh—oh!
Bana Singiri—Singiri!
Singiri! oh, Singiri!
Director. Mirambo has gone to war
To fight against the Arabs;
The Arabs and Wangwana
Have gone to fight Mirambo!
Choir. Oh—oh—oh! to fight Mirambo!
Oh, Mirambo! Mirambo!
Oh,—to fight Mirambo!
Director. But the white man will make us glad,
He is going home! For he is going home,
And he will make us glad! Sh-sh-sh!
Choir. The white man will make us glad! Sh—sh—sh!
Sh—sh-sh-sh—sh-h-h-h-h-h!
Um-m—um-um-m-m—sh!

The following extemporaneous song produced an inspiriting effect. The soloist sang it dramatically, and when the chorus joined in, the echoes among the hills gave forth a wild inimitable harmony. The original was rimeless but in perfect rhythm. The translation is said [22] to be practically literal.

Sing, O friends, sing; the journey is ended:
Sing aloud, O friends; sing to the great Nyanza.
Sing all, sing loud, O friends, sing to the great sea;
Give your last look to the lands behind and then turn to the sea.

Long time ago you left your lands,
Your wives and children, your brothers and your friends;
Tell me, have you seen a sea like this
Since you left the great salt sea?

Chorus

Then sing, O friends, sing; the journey is ended:
Sing aloud, O friends; sing to this great sea.

[22] Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, i. 142.

The sea is fresh, is good, and sweet;
Your sea is salt, and bad, unfit to drink.
This sea's like wine to drink for thirsty men;
The salt sea—bah! it makes men sick.

Lift up your heads, O men, and gaze around;
Try if you can see its end.
See, it stretches moons away—
This great sweet fresh-water sea.

We come from Usukuma land,
The land of pastures, cattle, sheep, and goats,
The land of braves, warriors, and strong men,
And, lo! this is the far-known Usukuma sea.

Ye friends, ye scorned at us in other days.
Ah, ha! Wangwana. What say ye now?
Ye have seen the land, its pastures and its herds,
Ye now see the far-known Usukuma sea.

Kaduma's land is just below;
He is rich in cattle, sheep, and goats.
The white man is rich in cloth and beads;
His hand is open and his heart is free.

To-morrow the white man must make us strong
With meat and beer, wine and grain.
We shall dance and play the livelong day,
And eat and drink and sing and play.

c. Mythic Tales

There is room for research work in Wanyamwezi mythology. Material for mythic tales is plentiful. This barbaric tribe has no conception of a Supreme Being. Religion consists in sacrifice and prayer to ancestral spirits called *musimo*.[23] Near his home every one has a musimo hut wherein dwell the family ghosts. Food is placed within, and in other ways the people show respect to the souls of their forefathers. Metempsychosis may take place in this life and in the next. A sorcerer can change himself into a wild beast so as to harm his foes, but in such cases the soul does not reside within the creature permanently. The witch-doctor, who is also rainmaker, can read the

[23] Stanley, *Livingstone*, 534, 543; Decle, 343.

future by invoking ancestral spirits. After prayer, song, and dance there comes to him a vision, which he intones in a most mournful and impressive manner. The claw of a leopard or the eyebrow of an antelope becomes a potent fetish, if you receive it from the witch-doctor.

4. Zulus

The Zulus,[24] who are sometimes miscalled Kafirs, constitute the most important division of the Southern Bantus. They are a tall shapely people whose various tribes at one time formed the most powerful confederacy in South Africa, but the rashness of their kings led to disastrous conflicts with the white settlers. In military science they are scarcely inferior to some of the modern civilised nations, and they are not without a certain chivalry in warfare. Each village community[25] is a circle of huts surrounding a cattle-pen where the herds are sheltered by night. As in Dinkaland the ox is the monetary standard. The man who clears and tills virgin soil is its owner, but the system of land tenure[26] is often marred by the rapacity of a chief or a diviner. Some of the men are excellent metal workers. The men cut down the timber, but the women are the architects and agriculturists.

The number of wives depends upon the wealth of the husband, who is denied the privilege of ever seeing the face of any of his mothers-in-law.[27] The father

[24] Cf. A. F. Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa*, London, 1836, 8, etc.; J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, London, 1857, 2, 7, 13; Fritsch, 58, etc.; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Edinburgh, 1875, 148, 172; James Macdonald, "Superstitions and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1890, xix. 286; J. Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus*, Boston, 1891, 90, etc.; B. Ankermann, "Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Ethnographie der Südhälfte Afrikas," *A. f. Anthr.*, Braunschweig, 1906, iv. 241.

[25] There is no occasion to perpetuate the Dutch name kraal (corral) any more than the Portuguese loan-word assegai (spear), which the Zulus call *umkonto*.

[26] Leslie, 163; Frere, 262; Macdonald, 276.

[27] Leslie, 102; Macdonald, 273; Tyler, 191; A. E. Crawley, "Sexual Taboo," *J. A. I.*, 1895, xxiv, 116, 219, 430. Cf. R. R. Marett, "Is Taboo a Negative Magic?" in *Anthropological Essays*, Oxford, 1907, 219 ff.

rules his family, and his power persists long after he is dead. The question of dress seldom leads to family quarrels. In argument the Zulus are as subtle as the Maoris of New Zealand, and though dignified in their general deportment, they are not without a keen sense of humour. There is probably not a more intelligent and hospitable people among the African aborigines.

a. Dances

The Zulus play at least three musical instruments.[28] Whistles of bone or ivory are blown precisely as we might blow a door-key to find if it is clear. The Zulus also play a reed flageolet or flute as well as a guitar, that looks like a bow to which a gourd or calabash is attached.

These tribesmen can readily mimic the cries of birds and beasts as well as artificial sounds like the whistling of locomotives. They are no less proficient in pantomime. Their numerous recreative and mimetic dances[29] constitute a frequent accompaniment to the many kinds of songs. Besides periodic dances such as those connected with the new moon and the Feast of First Fruits, others are associated with nubility and marriage, initiation and war ceremonies. As many as five thousand men have been known to engage in a military dance. A sorcery dance must here serve to illustrate this Zulu art in general.

It is the duty of the diviner [30] to find out the wizard

[28] Gardiner, 104; Shooter, 236; W. R. Ludlow, *Zululand and Cetewayo*, London, 1882, 162.

[29] Gardiner, 56, 58, 64, 70, 96; Shooter, 26, 74, 193, 234; Fritsch, 91, 140; Leslie, 91, 116; Ludlow, 90; Macdonald, 268; Tyler, 202; M. L. Hewat, *Bantu Folk Lore*, Cape Town, N. D., 109 (dance of girls about fourteen years of age—Intonyane festival). The Zulu accent is penultimate (Shooter, 390).

[30] The aboriginal medicine-man is usually more or less of a humbug, but occasionally magicians far superior to their fellows are encountered. The Zulu seer or witch-doctor may exhibit a considerable knowledge of therapeutics. He may know how to employ herbs for healing or slaying and also be no mean surgeon. He is capable of self-mesmerism as well as unaccountable feats that suggest telepathy. Cf. Shooter, 167; L. Grout, *Zululand*, Philadelphia, 1864, 132; H. Callaway, "On Divination and Analogous Phenomena," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1872, xxviii. 176ff.; Leslie, 43,

or evil-doer who has brought bad luck of any kind. Illness and death, except through warfare or senility, are caused by witchcraft. The people squat on the ground in a circle, and the diviner appears in official garb. Slowly he paces within the ring. Little by little his speed increases until eventually he breaks into a dance and incantation. Quicker grows the dance and louder grows the chant, till the performer's eyes begin to roll, tears stream down his cheeks, and the magic syllables are broken by sobs and cries. These symptoms indicate that the ghosts of former chiefs have taken possession of the prophet. With great leaps he crosses and recrosses. Suddenly he stops, begins to sniff strongly, and at last runs forward, pointing out the alleged culprit with his wand. Finally the diviner dances through the village, entering hut after hut with the apparent instinct of a bloodhound, until he hurls his spear on the spot where the evil charm is concealed.

b. Songs

The Zulus can extemporise readily, but they have numerous traditional songs. Many songs[31] are accompanied by conventional gestures which are deemed suitable for a certain air and text. The songs, humorous, pathetic, or inspiring, comprise the favourite themes of war and cattle; others concern hunting, love, betrothal, marriage, history, sorcery, and religion. There are marching chants for the women as they carry brushwood for housebuilding, and others for the regiments of warriors.

Some choruses are wordless[32] or at least meaning-

47; Macdonald, 273 293; Tyler, 99; C. F. Juritz, "South African Pharmacology," *Trans. S. A. Phil. Soc.*, Cape Town, 1906, xvi. 116; Hewat, 10, 25, 85 (surgery); F. Mayr, "The Zulu Kafirs of Natal," *Anthropos*, Salzburg, 1907, ii. 392, 633.

[31] Gardiner, 38, 55, 97, 164, 204; Shooter, 75, 117, 236; Callaway, 175; Leslie, 64, 92, 207; Ludlow, 109, 175; Macdonald, 265; Tyler, 202, 212; C. Doving, *Billeder fra Syd-Afrika*, Decorah, 1892, 42; Hewat, 100.

[32] Gardiner, 97 (betrothal); Shooter, 193 (male choral response at prophet's novitiate); H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal and London, 1870, 413.

less, while others contain two or three words [33] which are repeated over and over. Before a campaign the professional bards chant the praises of the tribal ancestors, predicting a victorious return of the warriors. Like the ancient Greeks, Kelts and Norsemen, the Zulus have genealogical poems [34] which have been known to relate the names and deeds of ancestors back to the tenth or eleventh generation. Those verses which extol the strength and valour of the kings may fairly be called heroic songs.[35] Some of the eulogistic rhapsodies exhibit a continuity of thought and a boldness of imagery that are suggestive of true poetic feeling. The following specimens illustrate Zulu verse of varying value.

THE LOST COW [36]

Our cow, let her come, we are calling her;
We say, let her come, let her come, so let her come;
Let her come to me, then let her come;
Our cow, let her come, we are calling her.

A HUNTING SONG [37]

Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!
A whirlwind! the buffalo!
Some leave and go home;
Some pursue and obtain.
We shoot the rising,
But leave the wounded.
Hurrah! etc.

ODE TO SENZANGAKONA [38]

Thou dark grave of Nohamba!
Ever noosing the ankles of foes at home and abroad;
Black spotted beast of Zwa Ngendaba;

[33] Grout, 193; Ludlow, 162.
[34] Ludlow, 101; Macdonald, 265.
[35] Gardiner, 57; Shooter, 267; Grout, 196.
[36] Grout, 194 (a sort of magic formula).
[37] *Ibid.*, 195. The closing couplet refers to the rule that the game belongs to him who first wounds it. You gain nothing by stopping to kill a beast that another has wounded.
[38] *Ibid.*, 197 (a fragment of a traditional song in honour of a king). Nohamba is a royal town. Menzi signifies maker—a term sometimes used by missionaries to designate the Deity.

Thou deadly destroyer of Makanda and Unsele;
Voracious consumer of the root and the branch;
Descendant of Menzi! spoiling till spoil is gone;
Thou fount of Nohamba! drinking of which
I dropped down dead, and sank into the shade of Punga.

In Honor of Chaka[39]

Thou striker of poison into all conspirators—
Those abroad no less than those at home;
Thou art green as the gall of the goat.
Butterfly of Punga, tinted with circling spots
As if made by twilight shadows of mountains,
In the dusk of evening when wizards are abroad.
Lynx-eyed descendant of Punga and Makeba,
With looking at whom I am ever entranced.

Ode to Dingan[40]

Thou needy offspring of Umpikazi,
Eyer of the cattle of men.
Bird of Maube, fleet as a bullet,
Sleek, erect, of shapely proportions.
Thy cattle like the comb of the bees—
O herd! too large, too huddled to move.
Devourer of Moselekatze, son of Machobana;
Devourer of 'Swazi, son of Sobuza;
Breaker of the gates of Machobana;
Devourer of Gundave of Machobana;
A monster in size, of mighty power;
Devourer of Ungwati of ancient race;
Devourer of the kingly Uomape—
Like heaven above, raining and shining.

Ode to King Panda[41]

The woman from Mankebe is delighted;
She has seen the leopards of Jama
Fighting together between the Makonko.
He passed between the Jutuma and Ihliza—
The Celestial who thundered between the Makonko.
I praise thee, O king! son of Jokwane, the son of Undaba;
The merciless foe of all conspiracies.
Thou art an elephant, an elephant, an elephant.
All glory to thee, thou monarch who art black.

[39] Shooter, 267; Grout, 197; Leslie, 92; Tyler, 212. Only a fragment is here cited.

[40] Gardiner, 57; Shooter, 310ff. (quotes 159 lines of this poem in honour of the royal hero); Grout, 198.

[41] Shooter, 2, 117; Grout, 196, 199; Wood, i. 90. The woman is favourite wife of Panda. The Celestial is the Zulu, whose blackness is better than the complexion of any people on earth.

A Humorous Song[42]

The rabbit has got out;
The tribe of Mantombela got only a feather.
How did you bury, O tribe of 'Ntombela?

c. Mythic Tales

Ancestor worship has transformed the souls of comparatively recent forefathers into tribal gods. Earliest of all is the First Appearer, the Old Old One, the great Unkulunkulu.[43] No homage is paid to him because he is so remote that he plays no part in the human life of to-day. On the other hand, if the amatongo or ancestor-spirits[44] help in battle, the Zulu warriors are victorious.

The spirits may visit their living relatives in a dream[45] in order to give warning against approaching danger, or they may haunt the man or woman who is ambitious to become a soothsayer and rainmaker. Usually, however, they take the form of an animal which is domesticated. If the snake or the lizard, for example, enter a hut, the owner is satisfied that an ancestral ghost has a message for him.

The Zulus have numerous mythic tales[46] concerning natural phenomena, a sort of Jack the Giant-killer, ogres and monsters of all kinds, besides wonderful

[42] Ludlow, 109. This impromptu song was sung by a man who, accused of witchcraft, was immured in a cave. For two days and a night he sang and worked his way out. His life was spared because "no one is killed twice in Zululand." The allusion to the feather is explained by the proverb, "I thought I had caught the bird, but I returned with only a feather."

[43] Gardiner, 178; Shooter, 160; Callaway, *Religious System*, 1, 7, 22; Leslie, 149, 207; Ludlow, 113; H. H. Johnston, "The People of Eastern Equatorial Africa," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1886, xv. 7 (Kulu means old or great in nearly all Bantu tongues).

[44] Ludlow, 101; Callaway, *Religious System*, 8, 129. For parallels in America, Oceania, India, Siam, China, Japan, and Europe see Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, ii. 113 ff.

[45] Callaway, *Relig. Syst.*, 228ff. Cf. B. Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1879, 280; N. Vaschide and H. Pieron, "Prophetic Dreams in Greek and Roman Antiquity," *The Monist*, Chicago, 1901, xi. 161.

[46] Gardiner, 178; H. Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, Natal and London, 1868, 1, etc.; Leslie, 119.

beasts, birds, and trees. The Rock of Two-holes opens and closes at the command of those who know the secret, much the same as does the cavern of the Forty Thieves.

Origin of Man [47]

Creation was brought about by splitting a reed. The first man and other objects came out of the cleft. We men came out of a bed of reeds. Unkulunkulu himself came out of the Uhlanga (reed).[48] Men, women, cattle, and all fruits of the earth came forth.

Origin of Death [49]

When men were many upon the earth, the Great-Great began to think earnestly. He sent two messengers to man. One was the life-giver, the other the death-giver. The first was the chameleon. He was ordered to go and say, "Let not the people die." The chameleon set off, but lingered on the way. He stopped at times to eat. He walked slowly when he ought to have been running. The second messenger was the lizard. He was ordered to say "Let the people die." The lizard obeyed. He ran the whole way. He reached the dwellings of men. He said "Let the people die." Soon afterward the chameleon arrived. He said "Let not the people die;" but the message was too late. The lizard beat him. He drove him away because he had failed to do as his master said. Then the people lamented. They had received the message of death before that of life. From that time men have never escaped death.

[47] Shooter, 159; Callaway, *Relig. Syst.*, 9, 31, 35; Leslie, 149, 208; Ludlow, 113.

[48] This term includes other meanings such as custom, origin, time of origin, place of origin (Leslie 207).

[49] Gardiner, 178; Shooter, 159; Callaway, *Relig. Syst.*, 3, 15; Leslie, 209; J. Macdonald, "East Central African Customs," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1893, xxii. 116. This myth is told to explain why the Zulu always kills the chameleon.

The Rainbow [50]

The rainbow is one of the rods of the great house, which appears in the sky when there is rain. When the rod appears, the weather becomes clear. Men say that it lives with a snake.

The Hyena and the Moon [51]

A hyena found a bone. Taking it up he carried it off in his mouth. With a beautiful light the moon began to shine on a river near by. The hyena saw the moon in the water. He threw down the bone. He plunged into the water to catch the moon, supposing it to be fat meat. He caught nothing. Another hyena came and stole the bone. The first hyena was bantered for being so simple as to plunge into the water and catch mud instead of meat. So the Zulus often laugh at each other when unsuccessful in a certain enterprise, saying, "You are like the hyena that threw away the bone and caught nothing."

The Cannibals [52]

Uthlakanyana is captured by cannibals. They keep him in order to fatten him. One day they go out, leaving no one with him but the old mother. "Please untie me," says he, "and let us play at boiling one another." She agrees. "Begin with me," says he, "but take me out soon, for it is only play." The water is merely lukewarm, and the cannibal's mother keeps her word. He gets out unhurt and builds up a roaring fire. He tells the foolish woman that it will be all

[50] Callaway, *Nursery Tales*, 295 (one of several myths).

[51] *Ibid.*, 357; Tyler, 231. Cf. Æsop's fable of the Dog and the Shadow as well as the Malay version recorded by Mr. W. Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, Cambridge, 1901, 28 (the Tiger and the Shadow).

[52] Callaway, *Nursery Tales*, 21f.; Tyler, 232f. This is one of a cycle of tales concerning a hero who speaks before he is born. He is a sort of combination of Tom Thumb and Jack the Giant-killer. He treats the cannibals in much the same way as trolls and giants are served in Norse and Keltic tales.

the more fun if the water is dancing. He puts her inside the vat and holds down the lid. "Let me out," she screams; "it's only fun, you know." Soon she says nothing. Dressing himself in her clothes he lies down in her corner.

When the children come home, they begin to eat. "This looks like mother's hand," says one. "No," replies another, "that cannot be. There is mother in bed."

Uthlakanyana believes it is time for him to go. Disguising his voice he bids them open the door, and out he hobbles. He is scarcely outside when they perceive that there has been a terrible mistake. They start in pursuit. He comes to a wide river. He turns himself into a weeding-stick. The cannibals trace his footsteps to the brink. "Yes," says one, "he must have crossed here." He flings the stick across to make his words more plain. Safe on the other bank Uthlakanyana resumes his shape, and thanks them for putting him across.

CHAPTER XII

BARBARIC LITERATURE OF OCEANIA

I. Maoris

The observations here recorded apply mainly to the Maoris [1] or aboriginal New Zealanders of two or three generations ago. The Maori political constitution might be described as a nascent democracy controlled by traditional custom and modified by patriarchal influence. The social groups consisted of three classes, the chiefs and other leading families, the freemen or ordinary warriors, and the slaves who are captives of war or descendants of such. Every freeman might aspire to the position of chief if he displayed superior valour, intellect, and oratorical ability; while descendants of chiefs might sink in the social scale through lack of these qualities. There never was a king in control of all the tribes. The counsel of the freemen had to be sought before engaging in any important enterprise, and this served as a checkmate upon the power of the chief. Land was held primarily by tribal right, but each free warrior had special rights over some portion. Proud and manly, the Maoris have marked individuality and love of freedom.

a. Dances

The musical instruments [2] comprise a war-bell or war-drum, war-trumpet, nose-flute, lyre with three or

[1] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 4 vols., London, 1831, iii. 343, 360; E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 2nd ed., London, 1856, 226, 331; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., London, 1870, 355; J. H. K. Nicholls, "The Origin, etc., of the Maori Race," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1886, xv. 187; E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1890, xix. 97; J. M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, London, 1907, 64, 81.

[2] Angas, ii. 152, 392; Dumont d'Urville, *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, 4 vols., Paris, 1859, ii. 446; Taylor, 154, 316, 703; Brown, 212.

four strings, polished pieces of wood for rubbing with the hands, and the hummer or bullroarer.[3]

The Maoris had at least three kinds of dances[4]—erotic, military, and ceremonial. Some were performed by both sexes, while others were strictly unisexual, belonging exclusively to the men or to the women. The war-dance is said to have been unsurpassed in any country, and was practised as both a martial and a social exercise. Charcoal streaks served to increase the natural ferocity of the features, and it has been alleged that tattooing was introduced in order to avoid the need for frequent daubing and painting of the face. Unacquainted with large beasts the Maoris had no zoömimic dances.

b. Songs

Songs[5] are sung with or without gestures. The metre is difficult to understand, the measure being apparently irregular. For the sake of rhythm the vocalists do not scruple to increase or lessen the number of verse-syllables. Though chanted words are harder to follow than spoken words, yet the sensuous pleasure of song amply atones for the diminished pleasure of comprehension.

Generally the war-songs are linked with the dance, but in former days they were often chanted during the first rush on the enemy. The first of the following songs[6] is intended to stir the fighting spirit of the

[3] Haddon, 277ff. (a comparative study).

[4] James Cook, *An Account of a Voyage round the World*, London, 1773, 467; R. A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, London, 1823, 30; Ellis, iii. 320, 351, 357; J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of New Zealanders*, 2 vols., London, 1840, i. 28, 88, 115; J. C. Bidwill, *Rambles in New Zealand*, London, 1841, 81; Angas, i. 328; Shortland, 173; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 2 vols., London, 1859, 126; Taylor, 320, 349, 352; J. C. Johnstone, *Maoria*, London, 1874, 49; C. E. Meinicke, *Die Inseln des stillen Oceans*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1875–76, i. 330; Tregear, 116.

[5] G. L. D. de Rienzi. *Océanie*, 3 vols., Paris, 1836–37, ii., 159; Taylor, 242, 306, 314; Tregear, 101; Brown, 211, 218, 223.

[6] Shortland, 172, 259. Cf. Cook, 349.

singer, whereas the second is a taunt addressed to their antagonists.

Hug close.
Au, au.
Fling abroad (arms and legs);
Au, au.
That may flee
Away the
Seal
To a distance,
In order to gaze
This way.
Yea, yea, yea.

To The Foe

When will your valour begin to rage?
When will your valour be strong?
Eh! when the tide murmurs,
Eh! when the tide roars.
Say farewell
To your children,
For what else can you do?
You see how the brave,
Like the tall exulting peaks of mountains,
Are coming on.
They yield, e Rongomaihiti!

The following lampoon[7] is directed against an unpopular chief.

Deceive, deceive the man;
Flatter, flatter the woman;
Work the work, don't let it end;
Sleep the sleep, don't let it be seen
When the eye turns round.

The Maoris have two kinds of love-songs, the haka and the waiata. The haka is sung in a spirited manner, the words being reinforced by amorous gestures. In the evening the young men and maidens seat themselves in a row, feathers thrust in their hair, and their faces stained with red ochre and charcoal. Some of the best vocalists sing verse after verse, each of which is a complete sentence, while all join in the refrain.

[7] Taylor, 190, 544. Cf. Shortland, 174.

The musical effect of these dramatic love-songs is unusual, though not disagreeable. Four examples[8] of the haka follow.

1. O my comrades! detain my Huia,[9]
That the cord of my throbbing
Heart may again be mine.

Refrain.—Ha—ah, ha—ah, ha—ah, ha!

2. Tawera is the bright star
Of the morning.
Not less beautiful is the
Huia of my heart.

3. Who will marry a man
Too lazy to till the soil for food?
The sun is the food for
The skin of such a one. Eh!

4. Who will marry the woman
Too lazy to weave garments?
Tongariro[10] is food for
The skin of such a one. Eh!

The waiata is not sung in the lively measure of the haka, but rather in the dignified style of a religious chant. It is sung without the aid of gestures, and it may be a song of love, hatred, sorrow, or any other personal sentiment of its author. It is thus a lyric poem in the sense of modern literary criticism. Here is a specimen:[11]

THE FICKLE WOOER

Look where the mist
Hangs over Pukehina.
There is the path
By which went my love.

Turn back again hither
That may be poured out

[8] Shortland, 149, 161, 169ff. Cf. Tregear, 102, 116. The Whare-Matoro (wooing-house) is the building in which the young people assembled for dances, songs, and games.
[9] A kind of beautiful bird.
[10] A snow-clad mountain.
[11] Taylor, 310; Shortland, 178. This poem was composed by a young woman who had been jilted.

Tears from
My eyes. It was not I
Who first spoke of love.
You it was who made advances
To me when but a little thing.

Therefore was my heart made wild.
This is my farewell of love to thee.

There are three types of labour ditties [12]—hauling, canoe, and tattoo songs. Those who have ever listened to sailors' chanteys can form a fair idea of the hauling and canoe [13] songs. Tattoo songs were usually sung by the female friends of the operator, the object being to encourage the client to endure the pain. In the days of old only the slaves were without tattoo or moko marks,[14] which were wonderfully artistic. One tattooing song has been thus translated: [15]

He who pays well, let him be beauteously adorned;
But who forgets the operator, let him be done with little care.
Be the lines wide apart.
E hiki Tangaroa.
E hiki Tangaroa.
Strike that the chisel as it cuts along may sound.
E hiki Tangaroa hai.
Men know not the operator's skill—
Driving his sounding chisel along.
E hiki Tangaroa hai.

The Maoris have no days more sacred than others, and their love of freedom has led to great variety in

[12] Rienzi, iii. 159; Polack, ii. 31; Shortland, 162; Taylor, 321; Tregear, 101.

[13] The simpler canoes are merely dugouts, but the war canoes are artistic specimens of naval architecture. Cf. R. Lemaitre, "Dispositions des rameurs sur la trière antique," *Revue Archéol.*, 1882, i. 146; E. Luebeck, *Das Seewesen der Griechen und Römer*, Hamburg, 1890, (bibliog.); G. H. Boehmer, "Prehistoric Naval Architecture," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1891, 527 (a scholarly discussion of Keltic, Norse, Danish, and other vessels more or less like those of the Maoris); *Celtic Review*, Edinburgh, 1907, iii. 252 (British naval supremacy traced back to early Keltic models).

[14] Ellis, iii. 356; Polack, i. 115; Nicholls, 203; J. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1886–87, i. 365; Tregear, 114 (believes that tattooing was originally a form of writing); H. C. March. "Polynesian Ornament a Mythography," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxii. 307; Major-General Robley, *Moko*, London, 1896, 146; H. Schurtz, "Schnitzereien der Maori, etc.," *Globus*, lxxvii. 53; H. L. Roth, "Maori Tatu and Moko," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi. 29.

[15] Taylor, 321.

ceremonial details. Although they have priests for important occasions, yet every man reserves the right to use any incantation [16] where and when he pleases. These spells are addressed to deities who seem to be the spirits of their chief ancestors. Sometimes the formula is so old that certain phrases have become obsolete, the meaning being unknown, or known only to the priests and priestesses. Two or three magic songs will serve to illustrate the type.

ACCIDENT CHARM [17]

It was burnt with fire.
It was burnt with what?
Fire from whom?
Fire from Mauika.
Fetch me some fire, spread it out
As a food-dresser for us two.
Little burn, great burn,
Burn be coated with skin.
I will make it grow.
I will make it effective.

WAR CHARM [18]

Let this Niu [19] be strong.
This is the Niu, there it goes—
A Niu of Paki.
The bad, let it be seen.

MORTUARY CHARMS

At the first burial the diviner uttered incantations for

[16] E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 2 vols., London, 1843, cited by Wood, ii. 817; Shortland, 88, 130; Taylor, 181, 207. Cf. L. A. Waddell, "Some Ancient Indian Charms, from the Tibetan," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 41; J. Abercromby, *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, 2 vols., London, 1898, i. 358; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, 45; Carmichael, ii. 2 ff. (Gaelic); D. Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, 2nd ed., New York, 1901, 83 ff. (Druidic).

[17] Shortland, 134; Taylor, 182.

[18] *Ibid.*, 206.

[19] *Niu* is a mode of divination by means of sticks. Taking his own wand as well as another to represent the enemy, the diviner utters the charm over them as they are held crosswise in his hand, and then throws them on the ground. If his stick is above the other the omen is favourable. The spirit residing in the stick has heard the charm. Cf. *Hosea*, iv. 12; Tacitus, *Germania*, x.; Shortland, 139; Taylor, 205; S. Culin, "Chess and

both the dead and the living,[20] food being placed with the body in the place of sepulture. In the south it was customary to exhume the corpse about four weeks after burial, and charms were recited to remove the taboo from the deceased's ornaments. Wrapped in a mat the body was again buried. After about two years the hahunga or second disinterment took place. As the gravedigger approached the place of interment, the priest came behind and uttered this spell:

> This is the road,
> This the concealed way,
> The way of the spider.[21]

Another charm was uttered as the bones were uplifted, and at the house of the living friends these lines[22] were repeated:

> Turn round the high chief;
> Turn round him
> Who has returned from Ranga Kapiti.

After further conjuration the scraping of the bones took place at a big festival of the deceased's relatives. When the bones were scraped, they were painted with red[23] ochre, and ornamented with feathers. The friends placed food upon the bones, and around them they danced during the night. Thereafter they ate these offerings to the dead, and after further ceremonies the remains were finally laid to rest.

Playing Cards," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1896, 817 (a brilliant monograph explaining the divining wands of Chaldea, Babylonia, China, as well as fortune-telling and gambling with tossed canes, staves, etc., in Korea, Japan, Africa, Old Denmark, and America).

[20] Shortland, 145; Taylor, 216, 220 ff.

[21] A spider's thread was supposed to be the soul's pathway to heaven. Taylor, 224; Frobenius, 349 ff. (African parallels).

[22] Taylor, 225.

[23] Shortland, 148; Taylor, 219, 224, 411; Tregear, 105. Cf. J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages*, etc., 2 vols., Paris, 1724, ii. 388, 408; Waitz, iii. 198; H. F. C. ten Kate, "Matériaux pour servir a l'anthrop., etc.," *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.*, Paris, 1884, 551; E. Krause, "Zur Frage der Rotfärbung, etc.", *Globus*, 1901, 361; A. Hrdlicka, "A Painted Skeleton, etc.", *Amer. Anthrop.*, Boston, 1901, iii. 701 ff.; *Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.*, 1904, 607 ff. In studying the first interment see R. Andrée, "Ethnologische Betrachtungen, etc.," *A. f. Anthr.*, 1907, vi. 282 (comparative study of knee-elbow burial); Brown, 70.

A Lament[24]

The bright sunbeams
Shoot down upon
Tauwara, whose
Lofty ridge veils thee from
My sight, O Amo, beloved.

Leave me, that my eyes
May grieve, and that
They may unceasingly mourn.
For soon must I descend
To the dark shore—
To my beloved, who has gone before.

The Tangi[25]

Though the Maoris have no regular drama, they have several substitutes, in one of which they can enjoy the luxury of grief. The Tangi, which figures in social etiquette and in funerary ceremonies, takes the place of the tragedy of the theatrical stage. When people meet after a lengthened absence, they squat on the ground facing each other. Tears begin to stream down their cheeks, every gesture seems instinct with woe, and the ululation brings moisture to the eyes of an uninitiated bystander. When the Tangi is finished, the participants approach, press noses together, and all begin to gossip and laugh as though never a sob had been heard. At the Tangi for the dead the women lacerate themselves[26] methodically so as to leave perpetual ornamental scars.

Lullaby[27]

Eh, my daughter, when you came from afar,
And your hands were formed, and your feet,

[24] Taylor, 313. Cf. Shortland, 148, 182; Robley, 46. From her couch the dying mother can see Mount Tauwara, on the other side of which her son Amo is digging red ochre along with his warriors. She urges her sorrowing friends to leave her, so that she may weep without restraint for the son whose father she is about to join.

[25] Angas, ii. 109; Shortland, 148; Taylor, 221, 349; Nicholls, 200; Tregear, 104. The g in Tangi is hard.

[26] Shortland, 148; Taylor, 390, 412 (Biblical allusions); H. M. Westropp, "On the Analogies, etc.," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, i. 224; Robley, 46.

[27] Taylor, 307f. Cf. Ellis, iii. 350; Shortland, 156. The first of five stanzas is here cited.

And your face, you floated, O daughter,
In the Kurahaupo, Ruatea's canoe.

For lack of space the numerous singing games and mythic chants must be omitted.

c. Mythic Tales

The Maoris have numerous myths,[28] one of which must serve to illustrate their nature.

Maui,[29] the Solar Hero

Maui came back to his father's country. Here dwelt his ancestress, Hine-nui-te-po, Great Daughter of the Night. You may see her flashing where the horizon meets the sky. What you see so brightly red are her eyes; her teeth are sharp and hard as volcanic glass, the pupils of her eyes are jasper, her hair is as the tangles of long seaweed, and her mouth is like that of a barracouta.

Maui boasted of his deeds and said, "Let us seek whether men are to die or to live for ever." His father remembered that when he was baptizing Maui, he had omitted some of the spells. He thus knew that his son must die. Yet he said, "O my last born! be bold; go and visit your ancestress."

Then came the birds[30] to Maui. It was evening when his bird-friends went with him. They came to the home of Hine-nui-te-po and found her fast asleep. Maui strictly charged the birds not to laugh when they saw him creep. As he began to creep into the goddess's mouth the birds kept silence. When he

[28] Sir G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, London, 1855, (intro.); Shortland, 58; Taylor, 116; Nicholls, 197; Tregear, 122; Brown, 120 ff.

[29] Grey, 54; Shortland, 61; Taylor, 132; Brown, 218. This is one of a cycle of Maui myths.

[30] Animals, trees, and plants are not supposed to have souls like human beings. Heroes and demi-gods may assume the shape of birds, but they always talk Maori (Tregear, 120, 149). For Kymric bird-messengers see *Celtic Review*, Edinburgh, 1908, iv. 358. For one of the most recent studies of Maori and cognate languages see P. W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker*, Braunschweig, 1906 (Maori a member of the great Austric family).

was in up to his waist, the little ti-wakawaka could keep from laughing no longer. Maui's ancestress awoke, her teeth closed on him and he died. Thus death came into the world, for Hine-nui-te-po is goddess of both night and death.

A Fairy Tale

There are many fables as well as stories of land and sea monsters, of witches, giants, fairies and other creatures good or evil. Here is a tale of the fairies:[31]

Listen to this. At one time a race of fairies dwelt in two caves called the Kau-hoehoe. They were little yellow-haired people with a white skin. Those fairies used to come and fish in the bay near the caves. An ancestor of Nopera Pana Kareao on one occasion surprised them. Unperceived he got amongst them, for he was very fair and likewise small in stature. When they had enclosed many fish in their seine, he lifted a corner of it and let them escape. The fairies exclaimed, "There is the smell of man." At once both fairies and net vanished. At another time he again mingled with them. He captured one of them, a young girl. She became his wife. From her the late chief of the Rarawa was descended. After this fairy was captured, the others forsook the caves and never did they return.

d. Oratory

Like the Zulus the Maoris have many proverbs as well as riddles, and they lay stress upon oratory.[32] Recognised rules regulate the form and arrangement of their speeches. Usually the speaker begins by chanting a traditional song which foreshadows the theme to be discussed. Night is the favourite time

[31] Grey, 292; Shortland, 74; Taylor, 153, 203, 205. Cf. Tylor, i. 385.

[32] Shortland, 162, 189; Taylor, 108, 293; Tregear, 116; Brown, 209. Incidentally Tregear (123) mentions that seventy was a sacred number, and that most mythical armies were multiples of seven.

for speechmaking. When a hush has fallen upon the village, the orator steps outside his house and begins to march in front of it. If there is a controversy, another orator may reply, and thus for hours the drama of debate [33] may proceed. Unless the rhetoric is dramatic, much of the effect is lost upon the audience.

2. Fijians

The Fiji Isles lie due north of New Zealand and eastward of New Guinea. The social organisation has changed greatly since the Fijians [34] came under British sway in 1874. Formerly there was a feudal system comprising six classes or castes from chiefs of large districts down to slaves. The women are the potters, and their artistic designs are conventional imitations of nature. The village community is still the social unit, the people of each village being theoretically of common descent. Each family group has its own town lot, and the tribal territory consists of both arable and pasture land. The system of land tenure is as elaborate as it is in New Zealand. There is no country where rules of etiquette are more numerous [35] and more strictly observed.

a. Dances

The drum, the pipe, the Jew's-harp, and the trumpet constitute the musical instruments [36] of the Fijians, who as a rule are indifferent players.

[33] A. Earl, *Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand*, London, 1832, 91; Shortland, 161, 186; Taylor, 343. For the Renaissance drama of debate see C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, 29 (Swiss dialogue approaching drama), 56 (developed type of polemic dialogue in England).

[34] *Archaeol. Review*, ii. 367; L. Fison, "Land Tenure in Fiji," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 1881, x. 332; G. L. Gomme, *The Village Community*, London, 1896, 9, 15 (compared with Dayak and Basuto communities); J. de Marzan, "Le totémisme aux Iles Fiji," *Anthropos*, Salzburg, 1907, ii. 400; Brown, 110, 170; Webster, 12 (strangers' houses).

[35] E. Rougier, "Maladies et Médecines à Fiji," *Anthropos*, ii. 994 (all ailments spring from neglect of tabus or observances).

[36] Ellis, ii. 283; T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1870, 141.

Though these islanders have not such a keen time-sense as the Maoris, they are excellent dancers. They enjoy all kinds of dances,[37] nuptial, social, ceremonial, and pantomimic. The inventor of a new dance is said to receive a reward. The maggot dance is the most gruesome, while the sitting dance is one of the most remarkable. Through the agency of the dance it becomes possible to imitate meteorological phenomena and thus attract rain [38] from heaven.

The Nanga mysteries [39] used to exhibit the nearest approach to a dramatic performance. Besides dances and chants there were parades and dialogues. At one stage of the performance a dead silence fell upon the men. Suddenly from the forest came the harsh notes of many parrots and a simultaneous booming sound, followed shortly thereafter by a vision of dead men covered with blood.

b. Songs

The Fijians have numerous impromptu and traditional songs.[40] A popular poem may be carried into a district whose dialect is so different that the meaning is not understood by the native vocalists. The religious ballads are generally the most obscure, partly

[37] Williams, 142; T. Kleinschmidt, "Reisen auf den Viti-Inseln, etc.," *Journ. d. Mus. Godeffroy*, 1879, xiv. 268 (cited by Hirn, 262); L. Fison, "The Nanga or Sacred Stone Enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv. 22, 25; B. Grimshaw, "A Lady in Far Fiji," *Wide Wld. Mag.*, 1907, xviii. 362.

[38] Williams, 194. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans rain-charms were not unknown. In the island of Cos was a society whose members held occasional parades and offered sacrifice in honor of Zeus Hyetios. Virgil (*Georgics*, I, 157) was the first Latin poet who casually mentioned rain-prayers. For details concerning the *nudipedalia* of Petronius and Tibullus see Prof. M. H. Morgan's article, "Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 1901, xxxii. 102.

[39] Fison, *J. A. I.*, xiv. 14; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, 69, 72; Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, 146 ff.

[40] C. Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition during* 1838–1842, 6 vols., Philadelphia, 1846, vi. 383 (by Horatio Hale, based largely on notes of David Cargill, Scots missionary); Fison, *J. A. I.*, xiv. 18, 22; J. J. Lister, "Notes on the Natives, etc.," *J. A. I.*, xxi. 62; S. H. Ray, "Songs and Specimens, etc.," *J. A. I.* 1897, xxvi. 437; B. Thomson, 314 f. Cf. Fijian stanzaic monorime with that of the *laisses* or *tirades* of many of the *chansons de geste*.

because the language is older than colloquial speech or intentionally altered to suit the rhythm, partly because the phraseology is elliptical and allusive, and partly because most of these ballads are intended to be illustrated by action.

Many of the islanders of both sexes can improvise a few words to a familiar melody, but the higher compositions are the work of professional poets and poetesses, who are sometimes employed to prepare new songs for a big festival. The professional bard must not only possess a good knowledge of native music, but the text of his composition must harmonize with the measure of the various dances. Fijian prosody is no easy task for one who is not thoroughly versed in the native system of rime and metre. The favourite measure of their song-literature consists of three dactyls and a trochee, a measure that is occasionally employed in British metrical romances. Fijian literary critics estimate the value of a poem by its uniformity of metre and by the regularity with which all the lines of a stanza exhibit the same terminal vowel or diphthong. The old tragic historical poetry is dying out.

A War-Song[41]

Take your choice now—something for you to eat afterward;
Something for you lies at the foot of the mast.

A Woman's Song[42]

I was lying in the Tambu-tangani;
We were going to learn a dance.
A cock crowed in the courtyard;
I awoke suddenly and began to cry.
I am going to string the flowers of the kundravi
For a necklace in the harmonious dance.

[41] Hale, 389. A war-song usually consists of two lines repeated as often as desirable. The singers in canoes are approaching the shore. The distich refers to the former custom of tying prisoners to the masts in order to bring them home to grace a cannibal feast. Cf. B. Thomson, 107.

[42] Hale, 386. The night before a festival a woman awakes and recollects that the early morning should have been spent in learning a certain dance. She weeps upon discovering the lateness of the hour.

Fijian epic poetry is not without merit, but their heroic verse is too extensive to permit more than one or two extracts.

Lutunasombasomba wept bitterly;
"My descendants will be in pitiable plight.
My basket of stones is overcast,
My writings[43] (vola) have fallen out."

THE GHOST SONG[44]

My Lords! in evil fashion are we buried,
Buried staring up into the heaven.
We see the scud flying over the sky;
We are worn out with the feet stamping on us.
Our ribs, the rafters of our house, are torn asunder.
The eyes with which we gazed on one another are destroyed,
The nose with which we kissed has fallen in,
The breast to which we embraced is ruined,
The mouths with which we laughed at one another have decayed,
The teeth with which we bit have showered down.

Hark to the lament of the mosquito:
"Well it is that they should die and pass onward,
But alas! for my conch shell,[45] that they have taken away."
Hark to the lament of the fly:
"Well it is that they should die and pass onward,
But alas! they have taken away the eye from which I drank."
Hark to the lament of the black ant:
"Well it is that they should die and pass onward,
But alas! for my whale tooth that they have taken away."

c. MYTHIC TALES

The Fijians are said to have more gods than tribes, and like the Maoris they have a rich mythology.[46] In

[43] B. H. Thomson, "The Kalou-Vu (Ancestor-gods) of the Fijians," *J. A. I.*, xxiv. 344 f.; Thomson, *Fijians*, 7, 112. Cf. Kleinschmidt, 268; Ray, 436. Lutunasombasomba was one of three chiefs who lived in a land far to the west. On his way toward Viti Levu a storm swept overboard a basket of inscriptions. Mr. Thomson points out that when Europeans first saw the Fiji Islanders, they knew neither writing nor stone carving. The same ethnological problem is met in New Guinea and elsewhere. This may be a tradition of a more cultured race with whom in the remote past the islanders came in contact.

[44] B. H. Thomson, 353. This is said to be a literal translation of a ghost song addressed to the gods, part of which is here given. There is considerable poetic feeling in the dramatic lines that depict the callousness of nature when man dies. The insects that prey upon man have but a selfish regard for their own interests.

[45] The human ear.

[46] Hale, 52; Williams, 99; Fison, *J. A. I.*, xiv. 17; Codrington, 122; B. H. Thomson, 340; id., *Fijians*, 138 (epic of Dengei).

the northern part of the island of Viti Levu is Mount Nakauvandra, which is the native Olympus. Here it is that Dengei, the Fijian Zeus, in serpent form lies coiled in a cave, resting after the Titanic fight with his grandsons. The people have deified those ancestors that were conspicuous for power as warrior chiefs, and they are now to be feared and propitiated as much as when on earth in the flesh. Those are the local gods, and the divine government has the same patriarchal aspect as the earthly. The gods that dwell in the Nakauvandra need no propitiation because they are too far above men to care for such. Those fathers of the race are respected because they live where man's soul takes its last journey, but it is the poets who have preserved their deeds.

The ancient sagas and traditions that find their inspiration in Nakauvandra are the work of poets whose names are forgotten. The poems, which were intended to be chanted, contain stanzas of sixteen lines, all ending with the vowel 'a'. In prose form three of these legends are herewith submitted.

The Nets of the Goddesses [47]

As soon as the shade had passed the Dismisser, Rokowewe spies him and shouts Ue! Ue! Ue! The twin Goddesses Tinai-ulu-dugu and Muloa-cagi hear the shout and shake out their nets ready for a sweep. As the shade draws near, they make a great sweep. If the shade is the ghost of a warrior, he overleaps the net like a kanace fish. If it is the shade of a coward, it is strangled like the sumusumu fish. Him the goddesses disentangle from the meshes. They bite his head, loop up their nets and throw him into their basket. Ever these goddesses loiter in the path of the shades, listening for the sound of wailing in the villages below.

[47] B. H. Thomson, 349, 352.

The Child Ghosts

When it escapes the snares of the fisherwomen, the shade comes to the vasa tree at Nailililli (hanging place). From the branches of this tree are hanging the souls of little children like bats, waiting for their mothers to come and lead them onward. They cry to the passing shade "How are my father and my mother?" If the shade answers "The cooking fire of your mother is set upright," the child ghost wails aloud, knowing that it must still wait, for the mother is still in her prime. If the shade answers "Their hair is grey and the smoke of their cooking fire hangs along the ground," the child laughs with joy, calling "It is well! My mother will soon be here! Oh let her hasten; I am weary waiting for her!"

The Fortress of the Gods [48]

After many more adventures the shades reach Thunder Hill, the god-fortress. The shades enter the strangers' hut and are entertained. They are taken to bathe and then to see the wonders of the fortress—the dancing ground, the white quicksand. And now the young girls dance before them, singing heroic sagas of their deeds. The shades are ashamed that they know no dance worthy to be sung before the divine ones. Yet they make trial. Ah! when they open their lips to sing, the misery of their fate rushes over them, and their song is but a lament [49] for the evil fashion of their burial.

d. Riddles

Like the Maoris and the Polynesian tribes in general,

[48] B. H. Thomson, 353.
[49] An abridged translation of this lament has already been given as The Ghost Song.

the Fijians have both fables and riddles,[50] while on formal occasions they indulge in a remarkable style of oratory. Three specimens of their riddles must suffice.

1. White water on this side, white water on that side, black (*i. e.* deep) water in the middle?

The eye.

2. There are two from whom we are continually begging. They give without stint or grudging?

Earth and water.

3. In the morning it has four feet, and in the broad day it has two feet; when the sun is near setting it has three feet?

A man. He crawls in childhood, and uses a crutch in old age.

[50] Wood, ii. 930, 940 (oratory); L. Fison, "On Fijian Riddles," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, xi. 406 (thirty-one riddles explained), 409 (fables). Cf. P. Feit, "Das deutsche Volksrätsel," *Mitt. d. Schles. Ges. f. Volksk.*, Breslau, 1905, xiv. 1 ff. (Low German and other folk riddles as they survive in literary language, etc.).

CHAPTER XIII

BARBARIC LITERATURE OF ASIA

1. Besisi

The Besisi [1] are perhaps a mixed branch of the Sea-Jakun of the Malay Peninsula. Their leading chief acts as priest at marriages, as magician, and as judge. At harvest time the people used to hold a marriage-carnival.[2] Face-painting is practised only on special occasions such as tribal feasts. The Besisi are intelligent and hospitable, though shy in the presence of strangers.

a. Dances

Upon festive occasions the chief presides and opens the proceedings with the burning of incense and the chanting of an invocation, which is usually addressed to tribal ancestors as well as to beasts and demons that attack the crops. Throughout the night are heard the sounds of dance [3] and song. The choral dances, some of which are in mimicry of the jungle creatures, appear to be a form of productive magic. Some mimetic song-dances are performed by men, who repeat the words of a poem after the tribal chief, suiting gestures to the words.

b. Songs

The songs chanted on festive occasions are generally

[1] P. Favre, "Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula," *Journ. Ind. Archip. and E. Asia*, 1848, ii. 240; G. C. Bellamy, *Selangor Journ.*, 1895, iii. 227; Skeat and Blagden, i. 67, 510, ii. 159.

[2] Logan, *J. I. A.*, i. 260; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 145. Cf. A. S. Hill, *J. A. I.*, xviii. 93; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London, 1891, 25; G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1904, i. 90.

[3] S. and B., i. 95, ii. 143, 145, 364. For musical instruments see De Morgan, vii. 430, viii. 281; S. and B., 140. Cf. R. Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, Jena, 1905, 904.

rude improvisations,[4] consisting of certain well-known recurring phrases. The tunes are simple and quaint, and are sung with much spirit. Other compositions are known to all[5] members of the tribe. Some are agricultural verses, while others may be called nature songs.

The Tiger[6]

A Tiger roars at the end of the river-point.
What does he want? He wants to be feeding,
To feed on jungle fowl, to feed on wild-boar,
To feed on sambhur-deer, to feed on chevratin,
The striped Tiger that crosses the salt seas.
Do not forget this in the telling—
The headlands—they are the Tiger's country.
The Tiger has sworn an oath against *Somebody,*
The Tiger whose bound is full five fathom.
Dodge we the Tiger and leap to the right hand—
The Tiger walks up a fallen tree-trunk.
The Tiger looks for a hill that is lofty.
The Tiger sleeps (there) at height of noontide,
And then arises to roam the forest.
The Tiger hunts for his living quarry.
The Tiger roams as far as Mount Ophir.[7]
That is the place of the Tiger's origin.
There is his Jinang, there is his Dato,
There is his Jukrah, and there his Batin.[8]
There dwells the Chief of all the Tigers.
The Tiger dies at the house of his Batin.

The Python[9]

Seng, seng, seng! there calls the Python!
The silk-skinned Python that groweth sacred,
The Python that came from the springs of water,
Whose body is big as the stem of the coco-palm.
'Tis he that we call the Horned Serpent.
'Tis the silk-skinned Python that crept down seaward,
And fought against the old Sea-Python,[10]

[4] S. and B., i. 674, ii. 145, 168.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 361, 675.
[6] *Ibid.*, i. 637, ii. 148.
[7] This is the site of the Tiger City of Malay mythology, where the house-posts are men's bones and the thatch is of women's hair. Cf. Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales*, 26.
[8] These are the titles of chiefs of different rank, of whom the Batin is the highest.
[9] S. and B., i. 650, ii. 154.
[10] The fight of the two snakes or dragons is a common theme for oriental art. In China it appears as two dragons fighting for a pearl. Here it is the Jakun myth of the origin of the rainbow.

Until the broad seas turned to narrow.
The old Land-Python since time's beginning,
That is the Python that was defeated,
The old Land-Python that fights no longer,
The old Land-Python that craved for pardon,
'Tis he, that came from the land, was vanquished,
And he, that came from the sea, was victor,
'Twas he that possessed the stauncher spirit.
But the dead Land-Python ascended skyward,
And turned to the Fire we call the Rainbow,
For his horn was ta'en by the old Sea-Python.
Watch very carefully, step not over it,
For if you do, you'll be crushed as a rebel,
Round your limbs will twine the Python-sickness.
Be sure that you this in your soul remember.
To-morrow and ever may Fruit be plentiful.

Children's Bathing Song[11]

Go, little people, go a-bathing,
So you may cool your heated bodies,
So you may cleanse your little bodies,
And rub with care your little bodies,
And leave no stain on your little bodies,
Then haste back home, etc.

c. Mythic Tales

The Besisi mythology includes cosmographic, animal, and spirit tales. Transmigration, divination, and a future state are parts of their creed. The magic ceremonies and the traditions point to the prevalence of ancestor-worship and shamanism.

Sun and Moon[12]

Sun is a woman. She is tied by a rope which her lord is always hauling. Moon is a woman. She is the wife of Moyang Bertang. Moon-man is the enemy of mankind. He is ever knotting strings to make nooses by which he can snare men. He fails. Why?

[11] S. and B., i. 669, ii. 162. See also i. 363, 680 (incantations, love charms, charms against devils), i. 188 (building), ii, 165 (genealogical).
[12] *Ibid.*, ii. 320. For the sun-rope myth cf. W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, 62. For the Moon-man's strings cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 13.

Some friendly mice are always gnawing the strings. Stars are Moon's children. At one time Sun had as many. They feared men could not stand the glare and the heat, so they agreed to devour their children. Moon did not eat her stars. She hid them from Sun. Sun ate her stars. Moon then brought out her family. Sun was desperate and angry. She chased Moon in order to kill her. She has chased Moon ever since. Sometimes Sun gets near enough to bite her. This is Moon's eclipse. Moon hides all her children by day when Sun is near. She brings them out at night when Sun is far away.

The Original Homeland [13]

We came from a land at the edge of the sky—there, in the country where the sun comes to life—beyond the country of Siam, at a distance of more than a man's lifetime. Thence we went south till we reached Johor. Back we went again through fear of a cruel Malay Raja. At the edge of the sky stood one of our ancestors. He was a great giant. By command of Tuhan Allah [14] he guarded the pillars of the sky. When hungry he swallowed the clouds that fell at the edge of the sky. He cut off the overhanging shoots with his knife. In those days we were taller. We slept in caves of the rocks. We reached the mountains of Keluntong. They were very near the sky—no trees or grass on them. There were the souls of a sheep, a pony, a sea-elephant. There was the dragon whose head lay at the gate of heaven. His tail reached a distance of about ten years' journey. All those animals had seven souls shaped like themselves. We reached Selangor. We settled and have been here ever since.

Other myths concerning the tiger's chant, the spectre

[13] S. and B., ii. 316.
[14] The god not of the Besisi, but of the Malays.

huntsman, and the Island of Fruit-trees (Paradise) need not be narrated.

2. Todas

The Todas [15] dwell in little villages upon the plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. Grave and dignified, they regard themselves as superior to all surrounding races. The tribe has two main divisions, each of which is composed of exogamous clans. Though the members of a clan have many rights and privileges in common, property may be held by the family or the individual. As a rule the dairies of the chief villages as well as certain numbers of buffaloes belong to the clan; the house is family property, whereas most buffaloes, besides household goods and ornaments, are the property of individuals. An elaborate dairy ritual prevails, the milk of the domesticated buffaloes being regarded as sacred. Descent is always reckoned in the male line, and each clan has a headman who may lose his position through illness or old age. A representative council of five members tries to settle all tribal disputes. Tattooing of chest, arms and shoulders is practised only by women. These pastoral tribesmen differ from Europeans less in intelligence than in elasticity of their ethical code.

a. Dances

The dances[16] of the Todas comprise the gesticulatory performances of the diviners or devil-dancers, who are distinct from the magicians, the medicine-men,

[15] D. S. Young, "General and Medical Topography of the Neelgherries," *Trans. Med. and Physical Soc.*, Calcutta, 1829, iv. 36; *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, v. 133, viii. 86, etc.; J. F. Metz, *Die Volkstämme der Nilagiri's*, Vasel, 1857; W. R. King. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*, London, 1870; A. de Quatrefages, "Étude sur les Todas," *Journ. des Savants*, Paris, 1873, 729; G. Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, London, 1894; Rivers, 540, 643, 679, 731 (bibliog.); Thurston, 382, etc.

[16] M. J. Walhouse, "On the Belief in Bhutas," *J. A. I.*, v. 415; E. Thurston, "Anthropology of the Todas, etc.," *Bull.* 4 *Madras Gov. Museum*, 1896, 199 (Toda flute); Rivers, 249, 378, 384, 601.

and the priests or dairymen. Crude funeral dances are also executed by the men.

b. Songs

Toda songs[17] are either impromptu or traditional. They are composed and chanted upon any festive occasion, the more gifted bards enjoying a tribal reputation. The verses are recited rather than sung.

Lament of a Widower[18]

O woman of wonderful birth!
Renowned were you when born.
O flower, lime, O flower, tree!
Having found a proper husband you married;
Having found a proper wife I married;
I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you.
I took you as a beauty to Kuudr.
A house we built,
Bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport.
Liberal you were and refreshing
Like the shade of the umbrella tree.
We thought to live together;
But you have left me alone,
You have forsaken me.
My right eye sheds tears,
My right nostril smarts with sorrow.
I bewailed but could not find you.

Ode to Pidrvan[19]

O chief of many villages!
Conqueror, peace-loving yet strong man.
You were like Kavanadi,
Who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.
O man of wonderful birth!
Renowned you were born.
You caught the throats of the buffaloes;
You ran first and caught the buffaloes
Before the chosen men;

[17] H. Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, London, 1832, 157, 169; F. Metz, *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, 2nd ed., Mangalore, 1864, 30; J. Shortt, "Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N. S., London, 1869, vii. 277; Thurston, *Mad. Gov. Mus.*, 147; Rivers, 600.

[18] Rivers, 386. The poem is abridged.

[19] *Ibid.*, 388. Abridged.

Well you danced and shouted finely;
You invented new things.
To-day for the last time I saw your face.
I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place.

c. Mythic Tales

The Todas have numerous myths[20] that disclose various characteristics of their religion and literature. There was a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived harmoniously on the Nilgiri Hills. The gods ruled over men, because they had created both men and buffaloes. When the Todas speak of 1600 or 1800 gods, they simply mean a great number. Almost all the gods have a certain hilltop as a dwelling place. At present the gods appear to be neither personifications of nature nor ancestors, though certain legends suggest the deification of heroes. Certain heroes have been raised to the dignity of divinity, while the traditions of many of the older gods are obsolescent.

The First Toda[21]

On was the son of Pithi, earliest of all the gods. One day he went with his wife to Medrpen. There he set up a long iron bar. On stood at one end of the bar, and from the earth he brought forth 1600 buffaloes. His wife, standing at the other end of the bar, created 1800 buffaloes. Behind On's buffaloes a man came out of the earth, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. The descendants of the beasts created by the god became sacred, while the descendants of those created by his wife are com-

[20] W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, London, 1873, 49, etc.; Thurston, *Mad. Gov. Mus.*, 166 f.; Rivers, 182, 442, 614. Besides a secret phraseology the Todas have three varieties of sacred language, one of which appears in certain words that are employed in narrating the legends of the gods. Taboo languages are employed by the Malays, Dayaks of Borneo, Javanese, Polynesians, and South Africans. The primary motive is avoidance of everyday words in order to show proper deference to superior powers, natural or supernatural. Cf. John Crawford, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*, 2 vols., London, 1852, i. pp. xxvii–xxxv; Skeat and Blagden, ii. 417.

[21] Rivers, 184.

mon buffaloes. It is this god that rules Amnodr, the realm of the dead.

The Petrified People[22]

Teikirzi is perhaps the most important of Toda deities. She is sister of the creator of men. It was she that separated the Todas into clans. It was she that made a fair division of buffaloes. It was she that gave to each village its sacred name. When this goddess was living at Nodrs the people of Mysore came to battle against her. As they drew near, the woods gave forth a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they halted. Thereupon Teikirzi cursed them and said "Let them become stones." Into stones were they turned, and you can see them to this day.

Kwoto at the Precipice[23]

Kwoto was a fragment of gourd that became a little child and grew to manhood. One day when the gods were holding council, Kwoto sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. The gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the hilltop while we sit below? It is not at all good." They decided to kill him. Three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and slyly said "We will show you your country." They took him to a steep precipice and hurled him down. Kwoto took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. All the gods wondered that he was not dead. They decided to try again. They led him to another hill and threw him over the cliff. Kwoto was not killed. He pulled up a bamboo tree, flew back and struck the god Kodrtho on the head. The god's head split into three pieces, which at the present day have the appearance of local jagged peaks. After other deeds of prowess

[22] Rivers, 186. This mythic tale recalls the Greek Gorgons.
[23] *Ibid.*, 203 ff. This is one of the cycle of heroic legends.

the gods gave Kwoto a new name and acknowledged him as their superior.

3. Ainu

Most of the Ainu[24] are settled on Yezo, an island which forms the northern part of the empire of Japan or Nippon. Earlier than the Japanese they inhabited the entire archipelago. The Ainu of Saghalin Island believe that their progenitors at one time sought shelter in subterranean dwellings. They are without Mongolian characteristics, and their customs have undergone but little change since the Nipponese conquest. It is scarcely a century since the Ainu emerged from the stone age, and they are beyond it now only because they have obtained metallic knives from their southern neighbors, while some have learned to substitute iron for flint arrow-heads. When a girl is about two years old a dark blue moustache is tattooed upon her upper lip, without which in later years she could scarcely hope to win a husband.

a. Dances

Some of the Ainu dances[25] resemble those of the adjacent Siberian tribes. When the annual proclamation of Japanese law takes place, the crane dance[26] is per-

[24] H. C. St. John, "The Ainos," *J. A. I.*, 1873, ii. 248; S. C. Holland, "On the Ainos," *J. A. I.*, iii. 233; *Rev. d'Anthr.*, Paris, 1878, 148; I. L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 2 vols., New York, 1881, ii. 8, 37, 50; J. M. Dixon, "The Tsuishikari Ainos" *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, xi. 39; J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, New York, c. 1892, 13; H. S. Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, London, 1893; B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 4th ed., London, 1902, 22; E. Baelz, *Zeit. f. Ethn.*, Berlin, 1907, xxxix. 281. The classic Japanese work is *Ezo Fuzoku Isan*, 20 vols., Tokio, 1882 (pub. by the Kaitakushi).

[25] St. John, 254; Holland, 239; B. Scheube, "Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos," *Mitt. d. Deut. Gesell. f. Natur. u. Volkerk. Ostasiens*, 1880, 44; Bird, ii., 99, 103; Batchelor, 129 f. (four female dances); Chamberlain, 23; J. Ackermann, "Among the Aborigines of Japan," *Wide Wld. Mag.*, 1905, xv. 334. The Ainu make a kind of rude Jew's harp out of bamboo, and they are said to have a guitar or fiddle which may or may not be of native origin. Cf. R. Hitchcock, "The Ainus of Yezo," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, 1891, 462. According to H. v. Siebold (*Zeit. f. Ethn.*, xiii. suppl. 2, 48) they make no musical instruments.

[26] C. A. Krebe, *Journ. f. d. neu. Land und Seer.*, Berlin xvii. 379 ff.

formed by the girls. The same dance occurs at the great fishing feast, the accompanying chant being not unlike the cries of cranes. The bear-feast is the greatest ceremonial of the year. It is held in honour of the bear, through whom the Ainu obtain food and clothing. The dances and other rites are intended to propitiate the whole tribe of bears for the killing of certain of its members. In the north-east corner, which is sacred to the house-god, new *inao*[27] or willow god-sticks are stuck upon the wall. These *inao* or divine symbols are also placed on the corners of the cage within which is a well-fed bear.

b. Songs

The songs or chants are either impromptu or traditional. There is not much variety in the music of Ainu songs,[28] and it is almost impossible to write down the airs. Sometimes the people chant in two parties, one responding to the other, but they never attempt harmony. They often sing while hauling nets or paddling their canoes. Timed by hand-clapping are the few words of such a song[29] as is chanted again and again when a fishing-boat is first launched on the bosom of the water.

> The daughters of the master are beautiful,
> The old as well as the young.
> Thus beautiful will be this boat too.

Perhaps it is a single chorus of gratitude:

> I am very lucky;
> From you have I received,
> Most honoured sir,
> Eating and drinking good.

[27] W. G. Aston, "Japanese *Gohei* and the Ainu *Inao*," *J. A. I.*, xxxi. 131; F. Starr, *Ainu Group*, Chicago, 1904, 45. Cf. the chapters on literature and religions in the Marquis de la Mazelière's *Le Japon, Histoire et Civilisation*, 4 vols., Paris, 1907–9.

[28] St. John, 251; Holland, 235, 237; Siebold, 48; Bird, ii. 75, 103; Batchelor, 123 ff.; Starr, 90.

[29] Hitchcock, 482.

Here is a literal English version[30] of a typical traditionary chant which has seven stanzas:

1. There was something upon the seas bowing and raising its head.
2. And when they came to see what it was, they found it to be a monstrous sea-lion fast asleep, which they seized and brought ashore.
3. Now, when we look at the matter, we find that there was a famine in Ainuland.
4. And we see that a large sea-lion was cast upon the shores of the mouth of the Saru river.
5. Thus the Ainu were able to eat, *i. e.*, obtained food.
6. For this reason *inao* and wine were offered to the gods.
7. So the gods to whom the offerings were made were pleased and are pleased.

c. Mythic Tales

The Ainu believe in spirits of sky, river, mountain, forest, and fire. To represent these and similar spirits they have sticks peeled in different ways, the shavings being left on in curls. Neighbours of the Japanese for many centuries, it would be strange if each had not to some extent influenced the other's mythology. Omitting all adaptations of Chinese and Japanese tales, there remain several Ainu legends[31] which are believed to be aboriginal. Beasts, fish, and birds, which are among the tutelary deities of the Ainu, generally play the leading parts.

The Earthquake Trout[32]

At the source of the river Saru is a big lake. In this lake lived a trout so great that it used to wave its fins at one end and its tail at the other. The honourable ancestors went to kill this fish, but they could not do it, though they tried many days. The gods loved Ainuland. They sent help from heaven. They came

[30] Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 127.
[31] St. John, 254; J. Batchelor, "Specimens of Ainu Folklore," *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, xvi. 111; Starr, 85.
[32] Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 278. Earthquakes, so common in Yezo, are supposed to be caused by monster fish. The Ainu shun large lakes because they are the favourite haunts of such creatures.

down and seized the huge trout with their hands. Violently it plunged down to the bottom of the lake. The gods put forth all their might; they drew the great trout to the surface and hauled it ashore. Thereupon all the honourable ancestors drew their swords. They chopped the fish till they killed it.

The Chief of the Salmon [33]

A certain Ainu went off in a boat to catch fish. A great wind arose, and he drifted to and fro for six nights. As he was about to die, land hove in sight. He was borne to the beach by the waves. When he stepped ashore he found a limpid brook. He walked along its bank till he came to a great town. Entering the town he met an old man of divine aspect. "Stay with us for a night," quoth he, "and we will send you home on the morrow. Do you consent?"

So the Ainu spent the night with the chief, who next morning said: "Some of my people are bound for your land in order to trade. Let them pilot you. When they take you aboard, you must lie down and hide your head. If you look, my people will be angry." Well, there were many boats. Five score set off together. The Ainu veiled his head, while the others made the boats go to the music of a pretty song which he enjoyed. After a time they reached land. The Ainu, as he peeped out, saw a river, and the people were sipping its waters. To each other they said, "How good this water is."

Half the fleet went up the river. On another tack went the boat with the Ainu. At last it came to his native shore, and the seamen cast him into the water. When he came to himself, he thought it was all a dream. Boat and boatmen had vanished. He went to

[33] B. H. Chamberlain, "The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Ainu Studies," *Memoirs of the Literature College*, Imperial University of Japan, No. 1.

his house, and in his sleep he had a dream. In his dream the old chief appeared and said: "I am no human being. I am the chief of the salmon, the divine fish. When you were in peril, I drew you to me. You fancied you were with me for one night. That night was a whole year. Henceforth you will set up the divine symbols in my honour, and worship me saying: 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you worship me not, you shall become a poor man. Remember."

The Hare God [34]

On the top of a hill was a big house. Within were six persons splendidly dressed. Always they were quarrelling. Whence they came was not known. Thereupon Okikurumi came and said: "Oh, you bad hares. You wicked hares. Who should not know your origin? The children of the sky were pelting each other with snowballs. The snowballs fell into this world of men. What a pity to waste the snow of heaven. The snowballs were turned into hares, and those hares are you. You who live in this world of mine, this world of human beings, must be quiet. What is it you brawl about?" With these words Okikurumi seized a firebrand. He beat each of the six in turn. Then all the hares scampered away. This is the origin of the hare god. This is why the body of the hare is white; 'twas made of snow. Its ears are black because that is the part which was charred by the fire.

[34] Chamberlain, *Mem. Lit. Coll.*

CHAPTER XIV

BARBARIC LITERATURE OF AMERICA

1. Hypurinas

The Hypurinas[1] are one of the West Brazilian tribes that haunt the river Purus and its tributaries. Built in forest clearings, their little villages consist of communal houses, in each of which dwell three or four families. Occasionally they leave their villages and gardens for a considerable time in order to fish and hunt. Some of these warlike clans are said to indulge in cannibalism.

a. Dances

At festal gatherings the people of several villages meet in order to enjoy music, dancing, and rude drama.[2] Instrumental music for the dance is provided by wooden drums as well as horns and trumpets of bark and hollow cane. In the course of their outdoor dance-dramas they make use of wooden models of birds and other animals. By helping to stir the imagination of the actors these effigies stimulate the feelings and thus add to the general enjoyment. The dancers mimic the cries of the animals that are carved in wood, and they simulate their movements in operatic fashion.

b. Songs

The Hypurina girls at times chant love-songs consisting of one or two sentences, while the men find

[1] *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, 1889, 501; J. B. Steere, "Narrative of a visit to Indian Tribes of the Purus River, Brazil," *Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus. for* 1901, Washington, 1903, 363, 374; Deniker, 556.

[2] Steere, 374, 377 and Plate 1. Cf. C. J. Post, "Indian Music of South America," *Harper's Monthly Mag.*, Jan. 1906, 255.

most charm in their war-songs. Some translations follow:[3]

1. When the macocaua sings,
   It sings well.

2. I go down the river.
   Who knows whether I shall return—
   Or die there?

3. I go to die;
   My enemy shall eat me.

4. Bring your arrows;
   I am a warrior.
   I have my arrows ready;
   I long to slay you.

5. Now no one can say
   I am not a warrior.
   I return victorious from the battle.

6. I am wounded in battle,
   But I shall not die.

7. I am a serpent;
   When I bite, my enemy dies.

c. Myths

The Hypurinas have no traditions that antedate Columbus, and their traditions of the earlier Spaniards and Portuguese are too vague to be of any value. The myths and legends[4] of this tribe await research.

2. Zunis

The Zuñis[5] or A-shi-wi, who dwell in western New Mexico on a tributary of the Little Colorado river,

[3] Steere, 378. Cf. S. H. C. Hawtray, "The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco," *J. A. I.*, xxxi. 293.

[4] A rather dim sidelight may be thrown upon Hypurina mythology by a consideration of other South American tribes at a parallel stage of culture. Cf. W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, London, 1868; id., *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana*, London, 1879; E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, 371 ff.; *Bull. Soc. Geog.*, Paris, 1891, 447; Deniker, 556.

[5] J. Stevenson, "Illustrated Catalogue of Collections from Zuni, New Mexico," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1881–82, Washington, 1884, iii. 511; F. H. Cushing, "Pueblo Pottery as illustrative of Zuni Culture Growth," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1882–83, Washington, 1886, iv. 437; J. W. Powell, "Indian

are a typical pueblo tribe. Built upon a knoll the chief village consists mainly of groups of houses, most of which are two stories in height, though a few attain five stories. The poorest citizens dwell in the uppermost houses, whose front yard is the roof of the house below. As a rule the interior is so arranged that the inhabitants have no trouble in communicating with their neighbours. The government is hierarchical, dominated at all times by the esoteric fraternities. Eight men and one woman constitute a sort of supreme court of appeal. A governor with four assistants and a lieutenant-governor with four deputies represent civic authority, though even these men are nominated by rain priests. The Zuñi tribe is divided into clans, descent being reckoned on the maternal side. Arable land is not owned by clans but by individuals. Any man who cultivates virgin soil becomes owner thereof. The little gardens near the village, which are tended only by the women, are inherited by the daughters. The greatest care is exercised in developing colour in maize and beans so as to harmonise with what are known as the six regions—yellow for the North, blue for the West, red for the South, white for the East, variegated for the Zenith, and black for the Nadir.[6]

a. Dances

Dances[7] occupy a conspicuous place in Zuñi life. Impromptu dancing is a favourite pastime of the

Linguistic Families of America north of Mexico," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1885–86, vii. 138 ("the people of the long nails," alluding to a peculiarity of the tribal surgeons); F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1891–92, xiii. 325; M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. for* 1901–2, Washington, 1904, xxiii. 13, 289, 291, 350.

[6] For explanation of colours see Cushing, *Creation Myths*, 369. Cushing names the seventh or "midmost" position, the centre of the six other positions, with its colour composed of all the six other colours. It was according to this system that the totemic clans were originally classified, a tribal septuarchy implying a mytho-sociologic organisation.

[7] F. H. Cushing, "Zuni Fetiches," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1880–81, ii. 21, 32; T. E. Stevenson, "The Religious life of the Zuni Child," *Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1883–84, v. 541, 549; Cushing, *Creation Myths*, xiii. 359, 366, 373, 375; M. C. Stevenson, xxiii. 32 (dance of the witches and Corn Maidens), 294, 586 (scalp dance), 593, 600, 605, etc.

young men. Though they never wear ceremonial masks in such dances, they do wear masks in mimicry of those of the Navajos. The male performer of the dog-dance amuses his audience. Girls sometimes take part in the recreative dances.

The geographic and geologic environment is such that sufficient rain is essential to the welfare of this agricultural tribe. Living in an arid country this economic need lies behind their very elaborate ritual with its concomitant pantomime. The numerous dances with their intricate figures are much more than a series of spectacular displays. The dramaturgic element, comprising dance, effigy, chant, and dialogue, has a serious purpose. Certain fetishes, for instance, are associated with nearly all dances. The fetishes may be concretionary stones worn by some mountain torrent, and therefore regarded as having a mystical connection with water and thus with life itself. Again, when members of the Bow priesthood die, they join the mighty warriors who control the lightning arrows, and thus they also become lightning-makers. When other members of the tribe leave their body on earth, they go first to the dance-village, the place of the Council of the Gods, by whom the tribal rain-makers are always directed.

Toward the same end are directed the sacred dances or creation dramas of the Kaka. In the Kaka, or mythic dance-drama organisation, the priest-clowns wear clay-smeared mask-heads, nodular and knobbed. These masks aid in dramatising the Stone Ancients of mythology. In other words the fetish stones as well as the masks of the Kaka are symbolic representations or invocations of running water, which is the offspring of the rain-clouds. In the Kaka and all other dramaturgic ceremonies the actors and their parts are divided in accordance with the relation of each clan to the symbolic regions of the world. The paraphernalia and

costumings as well as the actions, chants, and rituals constitute an inherent part of the dramatised legends.

b. Songs

The oral literature of the Zuñis is not only extensive but of unusual merit. Their traditional songs[8] are too numerous to receive adequate treatment in a work of this nature. It is remarkable to find that many of the ceremonial songs and words of the Beloved Gods are "in faultless blank verse metre, and are often even grandly poetic." The creation myths are recited by certain priests in serial or epic form. The aboriginal epos is of considerable length, metrical, and bristling with archaic phrases. Only once in four years is it publicly recited by the priests who jealously preserve it, and no one is allowed to hear it except the priests of the various esoteric fraternities.

Origin of Priesthood of the Bow[9]

Thus spoke the Beloved Twain, Twin brothers of the Light, children of the Sun Father:

"Lo, now! Ye shall sing our dread song-line.
Like beetles that fall in hot ashes
Ye shall perish, ye singers and drummers.
But lo! in the lightnings and wind-storms
Your beings shall join the beloved.
Your breaths, too, shall strengthen the warrior,
And give power to the voice of the warrior,

[8] Cushing, *Fetiches*, ii. 12 (aboriginal "Iliad,") 20 (prayer songs), 32 (prayer-chant, lasting from one to three hours, sung at intervals, while various priests dance to the sound of rattles, imitating at the close of each stanza the cries of the beasts represented by the fetishes), 42 (war-song and other chants); T. E. Stevenson, v. 549, 555 (initiation); Cushing, *Creation Myths*, xiii. 374; M. C. Stevenson, xxiii. 26 (songs of the Divine Ones), 36 (thanksgiving), 48 (Corn Maidens and god of music), 62 (anthropic gods), 66 (quadrennial drama, with its prerequisite body-painting and masking, during which the native "Iliad" is rehearsed), 424, 450, etc. (some fraternity songs), 534 (choral song to the accompaniment of rattle and pottery drum), 545 (grinding), 604 (idols and fetishes gently rocked from right to left), 605 (songs of circle dance).

[9] Cushing, *Creation Myths*, xiii. 419 ff. These are brief extracts from the native epic.

Bureau Amer. Ethn. *M. C. Stevenson.*

PERSONATORS OF THE CORN MAIDENS IN NEW MEXICO.

Bringing peace to the Seed-priests and women.
And ye shall be foremost forever
Of our Chosen, *the Priests of the Bow.*"

The fathers in thought bowed their faces,
And secretly prayed in their hearts.
The people who watched them held breath,
And covered their mouths with their robes—
In dread of the powers of magic
And in woe for the doom of their fathers.
The gods to the right and the left
Took their stand by the side of the waters,
As erst they had stood by the cloud-shield,
Their weapons of magic between them,
The plumes of the warriors placed duly
In lines, to the eastward before them.

Then the Twain gave the word of beginning!
The master of words raised his song-staff,
On its shoulder the plume-wand of man-folk;
The drum-master lifted his sound-hoop,
In its circle the symbol of thunder,
On its handle the red sign of lightning;
Six times did they lift up in silence
The song-staff and hoop of the drum,
Then struck with the might of their sinews.
The sound shook the valley with thunder,
And above and below echoed thunder;
The meal on the drum-head was lifted
And danced as a rain-cloud around them.
Then the water below moved and bubbled,
When the first name was named by the singers,
The world rocked with earthquake and thunder
And the roar of swift storms in the northland.
Hahltunkya with dire eyes and staring—
Gleaming yellow as firelight in winter—
Tumbled down from the north with pellets of hail.

They named the last name of the song strand—
Nor moved, when replied Unahsinte,
Whirling in (twisting trees as the spinner
Twists fibres of yucca), and rescued
The Twain from the hot surging waters,
Dried the foam in their hair to war-bonnets,
Caught his brothers the Wind Gods in order
And hurled them, each one to his mountain
(In the north, in the west, and the southward;
In the east, and the upper, and under);
And rising, uplifted the smoke-clouds.
Lo! the world was alight with the sunshine,
And bending above was the Rainbow!

But the drummer and singers were sitting,
Lifted up by the power of the ancients;
Close enwrapped in the dust swept around them,
Made stark by the roar of the death-sounds,
Fixed in death by the shock of the lightning,
Burned hard by the frost-mingled fire-draughts;
Still sat they, their drums in the middle,
As they sit evermore, in that valley.

c. Mythic Tales

The numerous mythic tales[10] of the Zuñis are almost inseparable from their maskoids and masquerades, their mysteries and metrical epos. Each mythic tale constitutes an episode in what may be regarded as a sacred epic. Each is repeated in a conventional manner and in a fixed sequence by hereditary priests who represent all the clans and all the priesthoods. All such myths are carefully distinguished from the winter tales, whose function is much the same as the fiction of a more advanced civilisation.

The higher powers may be arranged under seven heads. First, Awonawilona, He-She, the symbol of life, is omnipresent. This potency is the blue sky whose heart created clouds and the great waters of the world. Second, there are the anthropic celestial deities who are represented by persons wearing masks. Greatest of these is the Sun Father, giver of light and warmth, and indirectly the giver of life. Third, there are the anthropic celestial deities who are represented in carvings and paintings. Chief of these are the fixed stars. Fourth, the terrestrial potency is the Earth Mother, giver of vegetation. Fifth, there are the anthropic subterranean powers who have successors but not impersonators upon earth. Chief among these are the gods of war. Sixth, there are the anthropic subterranean powers who are represented by persons wearing masks and in one instance by an

[10] Cushing, *Fetiches*, ii. 9, 11, 13, etc.; T. E. Stevenson, v. 540, 546; Cushing, *Creation Myths*, xiii. 375, 379; M. C. Stevenson, xxiii. 20 ff.

image. Among these are the Salt Mother, the White Shell Woman, and the Plumed Serpent. Lastly, there are the animal gods, terrestrial and subterranean.

Appearance of the First Men [11]

Eight years made the span of four days and four nights when the world was new. It was while yet such days and nights continued that men were led forth, first in the night, that it might be well. For even when they beheld the great star, they thought it the Sun himself, so burned it their eyeballs. Men and other creatures were nearer alike then than now. Black were our fathers, the late born of creation, like the caves from which they came forth; cold and scaly their skins like those of mud creatures; goggled their eyes like those of an owl; membranous their ears like those of walkers in wet and soft places; and according as they were elder or younger, they had tails, longer or shorter. They crouched when they walked, often indeed crawling along the ground like toads, lizards, and newts; like infants who still fear to walk straight, they crouched, as before-time they had in their cave-worlds, that they might not stumble and fall, or come to hurt in the uncertain light thereof.

Prey Gods of the Six Regions [12]

Poshaiyanki, the father of our sacred bands, lived with his disciples in the City of the Mists, the middle place of the world's fraternities. There he was guarded by his six warriors, the prey gods.

Then said he to the Cougar, "Long Tail, thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore give I unto thee and unto thy children forever the master-

[11] Cushing, *Fetiches*, ii. 14; id., *Creation Myths*, xiii. 383. Cf. M. C. Stevenson, xxiii. 28.

[12] Cushing, *Fetiches*, ii. 16; id., *Creation Myths*, xiii. 381; M. C. Stevenson, xxiii. 49. Poshaiyanki, the culture hero, converted his medicine-men followers into beast gods. He is possibly the Montezuma of popular Mexican tradition.

ship of the gods of prey, and the guardianship of the great Northern World (for thy coat is yellow), that thou guard from that quarter the coming of evil upon my children of men, that thou receive in that quarter their messages to me, that thou become the father in the North of the sacred medicine-orders all, that thou become a Maker of the Paths (of men's lives)."

Then said he to the Bear, "Black Bear, thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Cougar, the guardian and the master of the West, for thy coat is of the colour of the land of night."

To the Badger, "Thou art stout of heart but *not* strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Bear, the guardian and master of the South, for thy coat is ruddy and marked equally with black and white, the colours of the land of summer, which is red, and stands between the day and the night, and thy homes are on the sunny sides of the hills."

To the White Wolf, "Thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Badger, the guardian and master of the East, for thy coat is white and gray, the colour of the day and dawn."

To the Eagle, "White Cap (Bald Eagle), thou art passing stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Wolf, the guardian and master of the Zenith, for thou fliest through the skies without tiring, and thy coat is speckled with the clouds."

To the Shrew, "Shrew-Mole, thou art stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore make I thee the younger brother of the Eagle, the guardian of the Nadir, for thou burrowest through the earth without tiring, and thy coat is of black, the colour of the holes and caves of earth."

3. Cherokee

Most of the Cherokee [13] are settled in Indian Territory, the rest being residents of North Carolina. For centuries the Cherokee were the most powerful tribe in the southern section of the United States, and even so late as the Civil War they furnished thousands of men to the Federal and Confederate armies. Like the Maori of New Zealand the western Cherokee are now more civilised than many white people, so that the following details allude especially to the great-grandparents of the present generation. These intelligent and honourable mountaineers of the South at one time claimed all the lands from Georgia to the Ohio river, including the excellent hunting-grounds of Kentucky.[14]

a. Dances

Greatest of all Cherokee dances [15] was the annual green-corn dance. Next in importance was the medicine-boiling dance, the ceremonies connected with which usually lasted four days. Fasting as well as bathing accompanied the dancing and medicine-drinking. Thirdly, there was a medicine dance, which was generally executed along with other dances upon occasions when the people met for an evening's recreation. The other dances were not symbolic but purely recreative.

b. Songs

Perhaps the most remarkable Cherokee verses take the form of medicine chants which are sung in a low

[13] W. Bartram, *Travels,* London, 1792, 365; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia,* Boston, 1802, 136 f. (probably Cherokee); J. Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee,* Nashville, 1823, 225 f.; C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1883–84, v. 129 ff.; Powell, vii. 76 f.; *Eleventh Census of the United States,* Washington, 1894, 285 ff.; James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. for* 1897–98, xix. 11 ff.

[14] Royce, 130 f., 378 (as a result of 47 so-called treaties the Cherokee ceded to the whites over 81,000,000 acres of land); Mooney, 15, 45.

[15] James Mooney, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. for* 1885–86, vii. 337; xix. 20. Cf. v. 522 (green-corn dance of the Seminole of Florida).

plaintive tone not unlike a lullaby. They contain many archaic and figurative expressions. Both songs and myths bring out the fact that the two sacred numbers are four and seven,[16] the latter being the actual number of tribal clans as well as the formulistic number of heavens. Here is a medical song consisting of two stanzas, each preceding a brief recitation. The whole is repeated so as to make four stanzas.

Snake Bite[17]

1. Dunuwa, dunuwa, dunuwa, dunuwa, dunuwa, dunuwa.
   Listen! Ha! It is only a common frog which
   has passed by and put it (disease spirit) into you.
2. Dayuha, dayuha, dayuha, dayuha, dayuha.
   Listen! Ha! It is only an *Usugi* which
   has passed by and put it into you.

Besides chants that are employed as an aid in overcoming diseases, there are songs of warfare, hunting, love, and witchcraft.

War Charm[18]

Hayi! Yu! Listen!
Now instantly have we raised the red war-club.
Speedily shall his soul be motionless.
There under the earth,
Where the black war-clubs
Shall swing like ball-sticks in the game—
There shall be his soul,
Never to reappear.
We cause it to be so.
Never shall he raise the war-club.

[16] S. Buttrick, *Antiquities of the Cherokee Indians*, Vinita, Ind. Terr., 1884, 9 f.; Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 343, 351; id., *Myths*, 431.

[17] Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 351 f. *Usugi* may be a small reptile; the other aboriginal words are doubtful. Ailments are always caused by disease spirits, and it is therefore the duty of the shaman to express contempt for the intruding spirit by calling it a frog or a rabbit or something equally weak. Apart from the effect of this superior attitude upon the medicine-man himself, the doctor's confidence may bring about a faith cure.

[18] *Ibid.*, 388 ff. The eastern Cherokee believe that the respective spirits of the east, south, west, and north are red, white, black, and blue—colours which are symbolic of power, peace or happiness, death, and failure. The shaman identifies himself with the Cherokee warriors who wield the war-club of success, which is red, while the soul of the enemy is doomed.

We cause it to be so.
There under the earth
The black war-club and black fog
Have met for the covering (of the foe).
Never shall the fog be lifted.
We cause it to be so.

Instantly shall their souls (Cherokee)
Flit about there in the seventh heaven.
Never their souls break in twain.
Thus shall it be.
Speedily we have moved them on high
Where they shall wander in peace.
Never shall their souls be tossed to and fro.
Cause it to be so.
There on high shall their souls wander.
May they be sheltered with the white war-whoop,
May they never become blue. Yu!

Love Charm [19]

Ku! Listen! In Alahiyi you repose, O Terrible Woman,
O you have drawn near to hearken.
There in Elayihi you rest, O White Woman.
When with you no one ever is lonely.
Most beautiful are you.
At once you have made me a white man.
When with me no one ever is lonely.
Now you have made the path white for me.
Never shall it be dreary.
Now you have put me into it.
Never shall it become blue.
The white road you have brought down to me.
There in mid-earth have you placed me.
Upon the earth shall I stand erect.
When with me no one ever is lonely.
Into the white house have you led me.

There in Elayihi you have made the woman blue.
Now have you made the path blue for her.
Let her be wholly veiled in loneliness.
Where her feet are now and wherever she goes,
Let loneliness leave its mark upon her.

[19] Mooney, 376 ff. (the version here given is abridged). The spirit invoked is the White Woman, white being the colour of the south. She responds by making him a white, *i. e.* a happy man, directing his steps toward a path which shall never become blue with despair. In the middle of the earth she places him, so that he may be observed by all men and especially by all women. Finally she leads him to the white house of perennial happiness.

Ha! I belong to the Wolf clan,
That one alone which was destined for you.
No one is ever lonely with me.
In midst of men may she never think of them.
I belong to the one clan destined for you
When the seven clans were established.

I—I was ordained to be a white man.
I stand with my face toward the Sun Land.
No one is ever lonely with me.
Everywhere am I shadowed by the white house everlasting.
No one is ever lonely with me.
Your soul has come
Into the very core of my soul,
Never to turn away.
I—I take your soul. Sge!

c. Mythic Tales

Cherokee tales[20] embrace cosmographic myths, animal stories, plant lore, wonder stories, local legends, and traditions of a more or less historical character. The cosmographic myths, comprising narratives of the world's creation and of the hero-gods, were at one time preserved by the priests, who recited them in a strictly conventional manner. After an all-night session the pupils of the priesthood were directed to a running stream into which they waded, facing the Sun Land (East). Seven times they plunged under the water,[21] while the priest was intoning prayers upon the bank. It is the mythology that explains the ceremonial dances and songs,[22] which originally formed mere details in the mysteries or sacred dramas of the days gone by.

The animal stories at one time were as much revered[23] as the genesis myths, though they are now regarded as little more than playful interpretations of the habits or appearance of the lower creatures. Vir-

[20] Mooney, *Sac. Form.*, 340 ff.; Mooney, *Myths*, 11, 229.
[21] *Ibid.*, 230. This symbolic episode used to be linked with the ball play, the green-corn dance, and other dramatic rites.
[22] *Ibid.*, 248, 258 (feather dance), 266, 279 (groundhog dance), 290 (pheasant dance).
[23] Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 340. Cherokee religion is mainly zootheism or animal worship. Animal gods are most numerous, though elemental deities such as fire, water, and sun, are more powerful.

tually all the tribesmen are familiar with such stories, whereas the cosmographic myths were usually known to the conjurers alone. The animals are mythic. When they lived long ago, they were larger and more wonderful in every way than their present representatives. After the manner of men they had chiefs and councils. Speaking the same language as men, the animals[24] mingled on a footing of perfect equality with human beings. Men and animals were interchangeable.[25] Those prehistoric and preternatural beings now live in the upper world. In most cases the animals of to-day are not sprung from those mythic creatures, but are merely rather feeble reproductions. The rabbit cycle of tales is noteworthy. The Great White Rabbit[26] acted as messenger for all the other animals, and he was usually leader of the dance. He was hero-god, trickster, and mischief-maker of all the eastern tribes from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.

In imagery and in ingenuity of detail[27] the Cherokee mythic tales are admirable. Some of the wonder stories concerning giants and fairies and cannibals are scarcely inferior to those of India and Europe. Indeed, the Cherokee seem to possess a collection of aboriginal literature which is equalled in extent by no other tribe in America.

The Ball Game[28]

Once the fourfooted animals challenged the birds to a great ball game. The birds accepted. The leaders

[24] In the days of yore the trees and various plants could also speak. Mooney, *Myths*, 231, 421. The cedar is the most sacred tree.

[25] *Ibid.*, 264, 292, 310, 326, 346.

[26] *Ibid.*, 232f., 262, 448. It is a popular, though erroneous, view that all the southern animal-stories are of negro origin. The aboriginal tribes have always despised the blacks and would borrow little or nothing, whereas the negro is a nimble imitator. The negroes of America borrowed from the aborigines during the years when tribal prisoners of war were often sold into slavery.

[27] *Ibid.*, 236, 308. For instance, the Cherokee medicine-men suggested the microbe hypothesis several centuries ago.

[28] *Ibid.*, 286 f., 454. This is a typical myth illustrating the chief athletic game of the Cherokee and other tribes. Under the title of lacrosse it is sometimes called the national game of Canada.

arranged the day for the event. When that day came, all met at the place for the ball dance. The quadrupeds were on a smooth meadow near the river, while the birds were in the treetops close to the ridge.

The captain of the one team was the Bear. He was so strong and heavy that he could pull down anyone that stood in his way. On the trail to the ball-ground he was tossing up big logs in order to show how strong he was. He kept bragging of what he would do to the birds during the game. The Terrapin also —not the little one that we know, but the great Terrapin of old—was there. So hard was his shell that the heaviest blows could not harm him. He would rise on his hind legs and flop heavily to the ground. This was the way that he would crush any bird that tried to take the ball from him. There also was the Deer. He could outrun every other animal. All in all it was a splendid company.

The captain of the birds was the Eagle. With him were the Hawk and the Great Ancient of Hawks. All three were swift and strong of flight, yet they were a little afraid of their rivals. The dance was over. All were preening their feathers up in the trees, waiting for the captain's signal. Near came two little creatures scarcely bigger than field mice. They began to climb the tree on which perched the bird captain. At length they began to creep along the limb on which sat the Eagle. They begged permission to join in the game. The bird captain gazed at them. Seeing that they were four-footed he asked them why they did not go to the other party. The little fellows said that they had gone. The four-footed animals had mocked them and driven them off because they were so puny.

Then the bird captain had pity on them. But how without wings could they join the birds? The Eagle, the Hawk, and the others took counsel. It was resolved to make wings for the little fellows. For a

long time they tried to think of something that might do. At last someone thought of the drum which they had used in the dance. The head was of ground-hog skin. Perhaps they could cut off a corner and make wings. They cut two pieces from the drumhead. When they had been shaped, they were fastened to the forelegs of one of the little creatures. Thus came the Bat. The birds threw the ball at him, telling him to catch. He circled about, never letting the ball fall to the ground. The birds soon saw that he would be one of their best players.

All the leather had been used to make wings for the Bat. There was no time to send for more. Someone suggested stretching the skin of the other little fellow. So two big birds seized him from opposite sides with powerful beaks. For several minutes they pulled. Thus they managed to stretch the skin on each side between the fore and hind feet. Hence came the Flying Squirrel. The captain threw up the ball. After it the Flying Squirrel sprang, catching it between his teeth and carrying it to another tree nearly across the meadow.

All were now ready. The signal was given and the game opened. Almost at the first toss the Flying Squirrel caught the ball. He carried it up a tree from which he threw it to the birds. For some time they kept it in the air before it dropped. The Bear rushed to secure it. The Martin, however, darted upon it. He threw it to the Bat, which was flying near the ground. By his dodging and doubling he kept it even from the Deer. Finally he threw it between the posts and won the game for the birds.

CHAPTER XV

BARBARIC DANCE AND DRAMA

EVERYONE knows that the term drama means performance. Everyone also knows that the name is applied to that literary type which seeks to unify the former deeds of men through the agency of word and gesture. The drama is a representation of will in its action and reaction. Drama resembles epic inasmuch as both are concerned with human affairs, but epic is much more interested in the objective or narratory side of life. With the lyric the drama has kinship in so far as it strives to represent emotion, but the drama's interest is largely restricted to emotion as the cause or effect of an act of volition. Thus though the drama has a closer connection with the inner life than has the epic and a closer connection with the outer life than lyric, it is originally of the same ancestry. Indeed every drama has both epic and lyric tints in varying proportions. In other words, the modern drama of highly cultured communities retains the congenital characteristics of its first parents. It still serves to awaken a dim sense of those efforts of the primeval clansmen who chanted their uncouth accompaniment to the mimic dance, while by gestures they were striving to recount one or more incidents under the stress or the lure of contending emotions.

In the eighth chapter we scrutinised primitive dance and drama; in this chapter we shall strive to collate the more significant features of barbaric dance and drama. We have already observed that the tribal mimic dance takes the place of both church and theatre, and we have also noticed that among the hunters no social institution is more conspicuous than the festal choric

dance or nascent drama. Manifestly the recreative as well as the symbolic performances of the hunting tribes have their counterpart among the cibicultural tribes of both the old world and the new. Between primitive and barbaric histrionics the distinction is not in kind but in degree.

In general it is undeniable that barbaric exhibitions are more highly specialised. The military dances of the Zulus and Maoris are far superior in precision to any war-dance of the hunters. Among the Wanyamwezi negroes we see a regular ballet—a troupe of professional dancers. The pantomime of the Camma and the Fijians is more vivid than the best efforts of primitive men. Witness also the dances of Toda diviners, magicians, medicine-men, and priests, or the elaborate agricultural festivities of Zulus, Zuñis, and Cherokee. In what hunting tribe shall we find an equivalent for the Besisi song-dances whose male performers repeat the words of a poem after the tribal chief? True it is that the mystery plays of the Fijians, the Ainu, and the Zuñis are not essentially different from those of the Australian and Eskimo hunters; but effigy plays, such as those of the Hypurinas and Zuñis, seem to have their origin among the barbaric tribes.

The Germ of the Masque

It is incontestable that drama first arose at the village or camp feasts, which were never held without a dance in which everyone played some part. In the course of time came variations, possibly imperceptible in a single generation, yet real enough in the retrospect of the centuries. The recreative dance evolved into mimic or symbolic dances of various kinds, and these in turn assumed more definite dramatic forms. We have seen that in their ultimate aim the initiatory dances and mystery plays of the hunting tribes are to a certain extent suggestive of the mysteries and moral-

ity plays of medieval Europe. It is interesting also to observe that the germ of the masque [1] may be detected among the primitive clansmen. Unsophisticated man has a keen appreciation of facial expression. Deliberate grimaces and other physiognomic changes are not expressive enough for the hunting, much less the cibicultural, tribes. Hence in order to enhance the charm of the festal dance they embellish the face or the entire body with paint. In war it may prove useful, for the face-painting may help to terrify the enemy. In both peace and war the face-marks have doubtless, as in the case of the Andamanese, Semang, and Seri, an esoteric significance, partly as homage to the tribal spirits or demons, partly as a protection against evil spirits [2] or hostile weapons of man. Thus face-painting adds to a person's self-esteem and gives scope for æsthetic talent.

Survivals of Face-painting

Of the face-painting familiar among primitive tribes there are many traces in civilised countries. All who have ever witnessed a circus parade will remember the face of the clown. In order to secure the full benefit of the heat-charm the European devotee must come into physical contact with the fire by standing in the smoke, leaping through the flames, or smearing the face with charred ashes.[3] In the Middle Ages the morris dance was common in all Western European

[1] The French *masque* means face-mask and not the entertainment. Dr. R. Brotanek ("Die englischen Maskenspiele," *Wien. Beit. z. engl. Philol.*, 1902, xv. 120) derives masque from a Germanic root which appears in M. E. as maskel (stain), and this is preferred by Mr. Chambers (i. 402 n.). Mr. H. A. Evans (*English Masques*, London, 1897, xii) follows Dr. Skeat, who derives it through Italian and French from the Arabic *maskharat*, a buffoon.

[2] Cf. J. G. Frazer, "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," in *Anthrop. Essays*, Oxford, 1907, 110 (mourning costume as a disguise for protection from "the dreaded ghost").

[3] A folk custom traceable to ancient sun-worship. Cf. J. Knox, *New Collection of Voyages, etc.*, 2 vols., London, 1767, ii. 406; A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, 2 vols., London, 1872, i. 423 (how German witches use ashes); J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3 vols., London, 1882–3, iii. 329; W. Simpson, *Buddhist Praying-wheel*, London, 1896, 195.

countries, and it was so called not because it was of Moorish origin, but because people thought that the performers, whose faces were blackened, represented Moors. In the French and the Yorkshire sword-dance [4] the men had black faces or masks. Indeed the blackened face used to be one of the regular features of European village festivals, and that is why May-day came to be regarded as the chief holiday of the chimney-sweep. In the mummer's play Auld Clootie (Satan) appeared with a dusky countenance. Three generations ago in the north of Scotland the king of the death-revels had face and neck smeared with soot. At Domitian's famous supper in black [5] there were nude boys, stained black, who danced around the guests and then reposed at their feet.

Substitutes for Paint

Paint or soot rubs off easily, and this leads some tribes to strive for permanence in facial adornment with its consequent social and magical virtues. Scarification or tattooing [6] follows, but even these devices have drawbacks. Not only is it painful and occasionally dangerous to employ them, but they are a serious handicap to those who may for any reason change their mind as to the æsthetic or mystic value of such artistry. The lip and ear plugs [7] of the Botocudos

[4] Du Meril, 89; W. Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, 2nd ed., London, 1879, 70.

[5] Dion Cassius, lxvii. 9.

[6] H. Wuttke, *Geschichte der Schrift und des Schriftthums* (unfinished), Leipzig, 1872, i. 77, 108; W. Joest, *Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemalen*, Berlin, 1887, 53, 60; Gould and Pyle, 749 (allusions to this dermal art in various lands); E. W. B. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, London, 1904, 32 (cheek tattooing among ancient Britons), 150 (Pictavians and Sequanians); A. T. Sinclair, "Tattooing—Oriental and Gypsy," *Amer. Anthrop.*, N. S., 1908, x. 361 ff.

[7] S. Purchas, *Haklvytvs Posthumus*, 5 vols., London, 1625–6, iv. 1189 (the labret or ear-plug as a souvenir of enemies slain); Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, Paris, 1861, 175 (Aztecan theory of the labret); Bourke, *Medicine-men*, 496 (the labret a variation of the drinking reed); *Exod.* xxi. 5 (ear-piercing as a badge of slavery). Contact with higher civilisation is driving out the nasal fetish. Cf. Hardy, 286; McGee, 170; Nelson, 52. It was a golden nose-ring that Ribqah (Rebecca) received as a present (*Gen.* xxiv. 22, 47).

and Eskimo may originally have been worn as fetishes or as racial marks. Certainly if they served no purpose they would long ago have ceased to exist. Nevertheless this form of facial symbolism or decoration is liable to be as embarrassing as those previously mentioned.

Animal Headdresses

It needs but little ingenuity for primitive man to reach the next stage in the development of masks. The body painting of the Australians, Seri, and other tribes is or was perhaps merely a conventional imitation of the markings of animals. What is more likely to alarm an enemy than to witness the rush of warriors painted like fierce animals or, better still, garbed in the skin of a beast of prey and wearing eagle-feathers or wolf's scalp as a headdress? The animals with which the hunter is familiar are less alien to him than a human stranger, and whatever qualities they had in life pass to him through mere physical contact.

The facial appearance of the hunting tribes may be changed not only by paint, tattoo, or labret, but by wearing an appropriate headdress. Sometimes the Australian head-bands carry close to the temples rows of kangaroo teeth, while behind is fastened the tail of a dingo. In ceremonial dances the Seri wear the head of the male deer, and lion masks were worn. Among some tribes headdresses [8] of deer horns, fox scalps, or eagle feathers are a constant invocation to those zoic deities that are believed to be patrons of the clan. Kwai, Fuegians, and Botocudos adorn the head with feathers, and advanced nations possibly retain the custom in the waving plumes worn by higher naval and military officers.

[8] Cf. Carmichael, i. 126, 149, ii. 288 (Hebridean survival, barbaric rather than primitive).

Dance Masks

Though it is not always easy to obtain either feathers or beast skins, this difficulty is not insurmountable. What faith or pleasure demands, imagination creates. Some of the Australian, Seri, and Eskimo groups do not care to have a festive or a militant look all the time, and they dwell where neither birds nor beasts are too plentiful. Upon ceremonial occasions the face-paint, tattoo, labret, or animal headdress can be supplemented by dance masks, which are easily preserved and may be used at the precise moment they are required. It is immaterial whether we do or do not believe that the Eskimo borrowed the idea of movable face-masks from the tribes further south. Their artistic skill has worked out the idea in ways of their own,[9] often enough grotesque, but always with some characteristic features.

Effigy Plays

Hitherto we have been dealing with social phenomena known to exist among primitive humanity. Their consideration has prepared us to appreciate a dramatic form whose genesis is not primitive. The effigy play is barbaric in origin. The dance masks of the Eskimo and other hunting tribes, surviving in barbaric as well as autocratic and democratic stages of culture, bring us to a point where three finger-posts are pointing onward. One directs attention to effigy plays such as the sacred puppet ceremonies of the Javanese and the modern marionettes. Another indicates the literary

[9] Cf. Dall, 74 ff., Andrée, *Ethn. Parallelen*, 155; Murdoch, 366; Nelson, 26 (mask colours), 319 (grave maskoids), 356 (mask dance), 393 (masks and maskettes). The ceremonial masks of the Zunis are also symbolic, representing the real or ideal attributes of zoic deities. All the associated regalia and insignia, such as apparel and body painting, seem to embody similar or cognate concepts. The masquerade or fancy dress ball and the "false faces" worn at Hallowe'en by children are harmless variations—survivals or revivals.

masques that reach their culmination in the rare Ben Jonson. A third shows us those histrionic performances that belong strictly to the regular drama. Let us now follow the first pathway, leaving the two others for later exploration.

That form of entertainment which we call an effigy play or a puppet-show is of ancient lineage, and no one can prove when it was first conceived by the human mind, though the presumption is that prehistoric man had attained the barbaric stage of culture. Instead of a dance mask being worn by each performer, the acting is ostensibly carried on by figures that mask the real actors. We have observed that this dramaturgic feature is employed by the Hypurinas and the Zuñis, but no barbaric group exhibits it so well as does the Hopi pueblo of New Mexico.

The part that has been played by the masked effigy in the development of the drama is clearly brought out by the Hopi performance.[10] It is virtually a sacred ceremony representing the tribal pantheon in order to win the favour or shun the malevolence of the nature gods. Incidentally, of course, it serves the purpose of human edification and pleasure. Both the mystical and the human powers are personified by actors who occupy a stage, upon the screen of which is painted a symbolry that adds to the realism of the performance. This screen is pierced with holes for the passage of masked effigies of the superhuman powers, and these effigies are operated by shamans who are behind the curtain.

The front of the stage is a symbolized field of maize, and when the symbolic deities advance from behind the curtain, Storm and Drought begin to lay waste the field of maize. From both sides of the stage these evil marionettes meet with opposition. On the one

[10] J. W. Fewkes. "Hopi Katcinas," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, 1903, xxi. 22 ("theatrical performance or mystery play"), 40 ff., 49.

hand are shamans with their incantations; on the other are ordinary human actors who wrestle with and eventually vanquish the symbolic effigies. The growth of maize is thus the motive of this dramaturgic rite of the Hopi, and its significant feature is that the merely human dares to defy successfully the powers of darkness and doom. The entire effigy play reflects the æsthetic development of the tribe with its corresponding advance in nature conquest.

Puppet-plays still flourish [11] in supratribal stages of culture. Concerning ancient Egypt there is no conclusive evidence. Possibly among the earliest puppet-plays were those which appeared in India, whence they may have been carried to China [12] with Buddhism. The Ayatsuri Shibai or marionette theatre has been popular in Japan [13] for about three centuries, playing no small part in dramatic history. The manikins are so ingeniously contrived as to exhibit lifelike movements of eyes, mouth, and fingers. The puppet drama is well known in Muhammadan countries, but it reaches its highest Asiatic development in Java.

The earliest European exhibitions were probably in Greece.[14] The *Oscum ludicrum* or *fabula Atellana,* a type of farce transferred from Campania to Rome, had its stock masks of Maccus and Bucco, Pappus and Dossennus, and it was popular enough in Rome before the literary drama was borrowed from Greece. Although the decay of the drama was hastened by Christian hostility, yet as the church grew in wisdom, she became a new mother to the theatre.

Before the liturgical drama attained maturity, puppets began to be used by the church. Finding it use-

[11] C. Magnin, *Histoire des Marionnettes en Europe,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1862, cap. xxiv; R. Pischel, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels,* Halle, 1900; M. Maindron, *Marionnettes et Guignols,* Paris, 1900.

[12] Cf. P. d'Enjoy, "Le theâtre en pays chinois," *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.,* Paris, 1907, viii. 353.

[13] W. G. Aston, *History of Japanese Literature,* New York, 1899, 275.

[14] Murray, *Greek Lit.,* 205; A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre,* 3rd ed., Oxford, 1907, 178.

less to try to uproot the folk customs and folk instincts the clergy wisely adapted and adopted them, attaching to them a new significance. Thus with the aid of marionettes the priests did not scruple to give a realistic representation of the mystery of the Nativity,[15] while the Christmas crib was rocked to the rhythm of a dance. It is safe to affirm that from Roman times many of the minstrel class used some form of the marionette. Some of the medieval mimes travelled from fair to fair with miniature wooden actors or marionettes similar to the Punch-and-Judy show of to-day.

The Story of Punch

Punch seems to be the Pulcinella who appeared over three hundred years ago in Naples,[16] but under other names he is so old that it is difficult to determine when or where he originated. On his way from Italy Punch must have stayed long enough in France to undergo transformation.[17] When he crossed to England in the seventeenth century he became a great favourite,[18] partly because of his readiness in making witty comments upon current events. Each showman endows Punch with his own individuality. In concealment the showman may play the part of ventriloquist, as he makes the miniature figures converse and gesticulate.

[15] E. Cortet, *Essai sur les Fêtes religieuses*, Paris, 1867, 246; A. d'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro italiano*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Bologna, 1891, i. 116; A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, 3rd ed., London, 1898, xiii; G. Tille, *Yule and Christmas*, London, 1899, 55, 309.

[16] J. P. Collier, *Punch and Judy*, 5th ed., London, 1870, 11; G. Arcoleo, "Pulcinella dentro e fuori teatro," *Nuova Antologia*, Roma, Aug. 1872; T. Frost, *Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*, London, 1874, 29; L. Gautier, *Les Épopées francaises*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1892, ii. 11; B. Croce, *Pulcinella e il personaggio del Napoletano in commedia*, Roma, 1899. In Sicily and Calabria the performances of the carnival mummers are called *Pulcinellate*.

[17] Mr. Tunison (268 ff.) hints that Punch originally belonged to the Atellan farces of the Oscans. Cyrano de Bergerac slew the ape that appeared in Gian Briocci's puppet show, the first in France. Parisian children are familiar with Punch under the name of Guignol, who was originally a comic puppet of Lyons.

[18] English puppet-shows in general were first called motions, though Jonson (*Tale of a Tub*, v. 1) applies this term to shadow plays.

Wide World Mag.

A Chinese Punch and Judy Show.

If less gifted, he can vary the tones of his voice like a monologist. In short, the Punch-and-Judy show, so mirth-provoking, so dear to the hearts of the children and the street public of several countries, is the most familiar modern survival of the effigy plays of the days that are no more.

Marionette Theatres in America

The Caucasian homeland of the marionette drama is Italy. For centuries such cities as Naples and Palermo have supported puppet theatres, and the Italian immigrants maintain them in America. Scattered through the vast Italian colony in New York are several marionette playhouses. In the wings sit a man and woman who skilfully recite the male and female rôles respectively. Though the plays are largely based upon the romances of the Paladins, yet the dialogue is improvised, as the figures strut or fight in shining armour. Rinaldo, the greatest champion in the Charlemagne legends, is the popular hero.

Puppet-Play Literature

Shakespeare, Addison, Lessing and other men of letters allude to the puppet-shows of their time, and even to this day marionettes are in use at Christmas in all Catholic countries. The oldest effigy plays of Europe were based upon Biblical narratives or legends of the Saints. Gradually the itinerant showmen took their plots from profane literature, especially from the tales of chivalry. Le Sage and Goethe penned puppet-plays, and there are several German collections of literary material for the marionette stage. Some of Maeterlinck's writings have been used, though as a rule the dialogue is extemporised. There are also plays for marionettes, constituting a modern literary type.

Shadow-Plays

The shadow-play [19] evolved from the puppet-play. It is a form of entertainment in which the shadows of invisible performers are projected upon a white screen. Originally the shadows were always cast by puppets, but better results are at times achieved by shadows of living persons [20] moving behind an illuminated screen. The shadow-play is in vogue among Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic peoples. In their elaborate exhibitions the Japanese usually employ puppets. Women at times dress as puppets, simulating in silhouette the motions of marionettes. Though the women may take part in a chorus, they never recite the dialogue. Like the earlier puppet-plays of Europe the Javanese performances are often sacred in character. Karakôz [21] is the name of the buffoon in Arabic and Turkish shadow-plays.

Bavarian Shadow-Plays

Southern Germany was one of the early homes of this as of the ordinary puppet-play. Though the shadow-plays were at one time known in Germany, France, and other parts of Europe, they became obsolete. Recently the ancient *schattenspielhaus* has been opened again in a suburb of Munich. Tableaux, represented by groups of cardboard [22] figures, have been designed to illustrate certain scenes in the play, while the dialogue is recited by a reader concealed from the audience. The plays embrace a variety of themes, both sacred and secular. Men and women are writing

[19] Champfleury (J. Fleury-Husson), *Le musée secret de la caricature*, Paris, 1888; H. Jacob, *Schattenspiel-Bibliographie*, Erlangen, 1901.

[20] In British and other parlour performances hand-shadows are projected upon a wall or a screen.

[21] E. Littmann, "Arabic Humor," *Princeton Univ. Bull.*, 1902, xiii. 91 ff. (name probably derived from that of the Egyptian statesman Bahâ ed-Dîn Qaraqûsh); H. Reich, *Der Mimus*, Berlin, 1903, 15, 38 (compared with the Fastnachtsspiel, Japanese burlesque, etc.).

[22] The Arabic shadow-figures are of coloured leather.

special plays for the shadow theatre, and some of the dramas of Goethe have been adapted for the same purpose.

Dramatic Criticism

It has been argued by French and other critics that the shadow playhouse supplements the conventional theatre. The latter thrusts the actor's personality upon the audiences, whereas the main purpose of a play is to enable the audience to understand the author's conception. No player can be a perfect medium of another man's thoughts, because the player cannot lose his own identity. On the other hand the shadow theatre presents the scenes vividly yet impersonally, leaving each auditor to apprehend the playwright's words in the light of his own experience. Dramatic criticism, it is urged, will henceforth lay less stress upon the player's interpretation and more upon the method and message of the playwright.

Summary

Starting with the ceremonial face-painting so familiar among primitive tribes we were led step by step to the dance-masks. At this juncture one way pointed to the effigy play, which first definitely appears among the barbaric tribes. A characteristic product of the cibicultural clansmen, we have seen its continuous responsiveness to social environment, its survivals and revivals, its adaptations and elaborations in the highest stages of civilisation. Having thus traced the evolution of effigy plays and shadow plays, in a later chapter we shall more appropriately revert to the dance masks of the hunters, whence we shall endeavour to follow the evolution of the aristocratic literary masque on the one hand, and of the conventional drama on the other.

CHAPTER XVI

BARBARIC LYRIC

In the ninth chapter some features of primitive lyric received consideration; in the present chapter other features are to be compared with the elements of barbaric lyric. Improvisation and iteration, for instance, are common to both the hunting and the cibicultural tribes, but the improvisations of the Eskimo alone are worthy of comparison with those of the Wanyamwezi and Besisi. The best traditional verses of the hunters are obviously inferior in literary merit to the verses of the Zulus, Maoris, Fijians, and Zuñis. Though it is true that some of the Australian and Eskimo tribes can boast of professional bards,[1] nevertheless their most ambitious efforts have neither the logical sequence nor the spirited imagery exhibited in the compositions of the more talented bards of barbarism. Of course, unintelligible verse is chanted in both stages of tribal culture, yet the tones of the inarticulate chant grow more and more faint as we ascend from the primitive Botocudos to the more cultured Maoris.

Moreover, barbaric lyric[2] shows greater variety of form and theme. No hunting tribe has, like the Maoris, evolved two kinds of love-songs and three kinds of industrial choruses. Among the social phenomena of primitive culture where shall we find artistic religious ballads such as those of the Fijians and Zuñis? Is there a single primitive counterpart of the genealogical poems composed by the Zulus and Besisi? Is it a mere coincidence that greater division of labour is paralleled by greater variety of poetic

[1] Professionalism marks a distinct departure from the purely primitive.

[2] Of course, the term lyric is not used in the strict sense of modern literary criticism. It stands for all non-narrative or emotional songs, choral as well as individual.

effort? Is it a mere coincidence that superior æsthetic product belongs to superior social environment? Is it not rather an illustration of the universal law of action and reaction, of cause and effect? Are we not obliged to infer that literature is a constant expression of human life, and that the more exalted lyric of barbarism is the most natural and inevitable outcome of greater inventiveness or mental stimulus?

Absorbed by the fortuitous character of the food-quest, primitive man's interests are provincial in the extreme. The constant need for maintenance of physical life is objectified in the frequent feast or festival, which in turn arouses some of the potential qualities of the soul. More advanced in nature-conquest, barbaric man has to a certain extent transformed his physical environment and thereby finds leisure for improvement of social environment, an improvement which is reflected in his oral literature. Thus so far as we have traced its evolution, literature seems to be derivative, being ultimately the societal expression of æsthetic feeling.

Articulate Verse

Inarticulate or unintelligible verse was briefly discussed in the ninth chapter, but articulate verse is of more direct interest to art, because here spontaneity begins to assert itself. So long as human activity is under the pressure of material needs, art is merely embryonic. Though as a form of art the mimetic dance lacks permanence, yet it can be reproduced at will in the form of pantomime and incipient drama. These strip the dance of its transient nature, and in transforming they transcend it. In a similar fashion the crude meaningless chorus is chanted at the tribal festival whose excitement quickens foot and lip and brain, eventually calling forth the artist. Ready for his use is the traditional metric mould which was first shaped

by the rhythm of the dance, and to pour a few words into this familiar mould is not the delicate and intricate achievement that is demanded by classic and modern canons of poetic art.

Improvisation

Impromptu songs have been noted in all parts of the world. Many have been heard by travellers and others who visited primitive folk like the Obongo, Andamanese, Botocudos and Eskimo. Similar testimony is given in reference to tribal soil-tillers like the Zulus, Todas, and others. Even the Andamanese children are able to extemporise.

Such impromptu efforts seem almost incredible, if we fail to remember that tribal metric standards are not ours. With the help of a traditional melody the Andamanese villager can produce a few sounds with or without meaning, and the result is looked upon as an improvisation. The Semang may string together a few words without any regard for meaning. The best Botocudo improvisations consist of only a single simple sentence, alternating with the traditional chorus. A Wanyamwezi song may appear to be new, although it is merely a parody of traditional lines. Zulu verse may contain only two or three words. The Maoris increase or lessen the number of verse-syllables to suit the rhythm of the chant. The Fijians improvise to a familiar melody. The Besisi impromptu song generally consists of recurring catch-phrases, while Ainu metre is so irregular that he who improvises is not obliged to know much about technique.

In tribal improvisation both thought and style are usually subservient to the musical rhythm. Under such circumstances every one is a rudimentary poet, while the critics, who are also poets and composers, are inclined to be tolerant. Unpromising as they undoubtedly are, it was such extemporaneous efforts

that gave rise to the first verses which bear any resemblance to what we are accustomed to call poetry. The first artist served his apprenticeship as an improviser under festival stimulus, before he learned to compose more worthy verse in retirement. Not only among the higher tribes but even in Europe the primitive custom of extemporizing coexists alongside the more advanced custom of composing with deliberation and apart from the throng.

Can we suggest any reason for the existence of primitive improvisation? The answer offered is that primitive man, like his brother of a higher civilisation, at times seeks relief from the monotony of daily toil. He has his time for play, one of whose forms is the play of ideas. When he improvises, the dormant art-impulse is awakening as truly as it is in the case of the most exalted art-product. He is giving expression to the emotion of the moment in a form that seems beautiful to him. He comes to feel the truth of the paradox that joy grows the more it is shared with others. The improvisation, commonplace as it is, he recognises as his own creation, even though the next moment it may mingle with the overwhelming current of the clan chorus. His humble verse is in constant dependence upon the collective emotion produced by the choric dance, nevertheless he is thrilled with that peculiar delight which seizes everyone who is confronted with a new idea or with an idea that appears to be new. The witchery of such an experience seems to enter into the blood of the more gifted singer, and as he renews his experience it becomes a little easier to rise above some of the restrictions of tribal technique.

Traditional Lyric

At long intervals it happens that an improvisation survives, becoming a part of the traditional art of the

tribe. The time may have been ripe for this particular form of momentary verse, or the melody may have been chanted impressively, or the improviser may that very day have distinguished himself in warfare. The effect may be due to neither the emotional nor the intellectual elements in the words of the new song. In other words its success may be due to causes entirely outside the domain of lyric art. Any tribal art-form becomes traditional when for any reason it meets with the lasting approval of the composer's kinsmen. Australian and Andaman tribes, for instance, have even attained to the dignity of a festival director, who is generally chosen because of his superior talent in extemporaneous art. Rivalry between the more talented improvisers leads finally to the birth of popular criticism, which in turn leads to more care on the part of the individual artist and at the same time checkmates the tendency to indiscriminate improvisation.

Objective Lyric

Two ideas are usually linked with the lyric, its primal dependence upon music and its fitness as a vehicle for personal feeling. When the Greeks first marked off lyric from drama and epic, the lyric was sung to the lyre, whereas to-day in highly cultured communities it is seldom sung with or without instrumental accompaniment. The memory of its musical genesis may still be traced in the rhythms that vary in harmony with the emotion; but in the perspective of its evolution the musical factor has become more and more foreshortened, while the subjective factor has stood out in ever bolder relief.

The truth is that the primitive I, like the editorial We, is at times more or less of a fiction. Tribal thought is ethnocentric. Primitive men act and think in terms of an environmental ego. It is mainly division of labour that has promoted individuality as we con-

ceive it, and the lower we descend in the scale of culture the less does the individual emerge from the social group. Apart from the festal dance it is difficult to find any definite traces either of poetic sources or of poetic forms, and we are driven to the conclusion that the earliest art-impulse is essentially collective rather than individual, objective rather than subjective.

No doubt primitive improvisation is the halting keynote of individuality, but it is speedily lost in the ethnic chorus. In vain do we look here for that poetry which is born of meditation in solitude [3] and deliberately framed into metrical perfection. The poetry of the hunters is begotten of sympathy of kind and framed for tribal acceptation through the compelling rhythm of the dance. Thus lyric poetry is but one of the reflections of that progress toward individual freedom, of which in recent centuries civilisation has become more fully conscious.

Iteration

The earliest poetry seems to have been an experiment which primeval man was unable to resist. Out of many transient experiences comes what is permanent in science as well as in art. Impromptu precedes traditional art. Even the unintelligible clan-chorus, though now traditional, was at one time a tonal expression, momentary yet momentous. The least coherent utterance tends to become oracular, if it is regarded as the groping of one soul toward another. In a sense the inchoate dance-chorus of a hunting clan is a sort of miracle of creation, each clansman interpreting it in terms of his own experience. The frequency of such choruses among primitive people admits of only one rational explanation. Primitive cul-

[3] To this day the element of spontaneity enters into the best poetry, which is conceived in moments of inspiration.

ture is nearer to primeval moods and modes than the culture of those who have painfully climbed the steeps of higher civilisation. The festal dance-chorus, meaningless as it may appear to us, has the hypnotic power of rhythmic sound accentuated by psychomotor activity. It is an institutional survival. It is the only primeval art-form that we at this late date can hope to conceive, but why should the clan chorus as well as other forms of verse be repeated for hours at a time?

Kinds of Iteration

There are two kinds of iteration, primary and derivative. Primary iteration is the simplest possible type of recurrence. It consists in a repetition of the same word or sentence, the same verse, again and again. This is a universal custom among primitive folk.

Derivative iteration assumes two forms, intermittent and parallel. Intermittent or interstitial iteration consists in the repetition of a verse at occasional or at definite intervals,[4] or recurrence of an exclamation to mark the end of a verse or of a stanza. The recurring words connect the thought-links of the poem. Intermittent iteration is like the drone of the bagpipe, underlying the progress of the theme. It is employed by the Semang, Eskimo, and Maoris, for instance. Similar iteration and variation bulk largely in Babylonian incantations and the Vedic hymns.

In parallel iteration as a rule a correlated idea is expressed in two successive clauses. In the simplest form it constitutes a couplet such as was observed among the Kwai of South Africa and the Hypurinas of Brazil. In various forms parallelism is frequently exhibited in Hebrew poetry, though it is an occasional

[4] Sometimes the repetition is merely a catch-word or a conventional epithet such as is common in European balladry. This is often merely a metrical device like the Japanese Makura-Kotoba.

ornament of poetry everywhere.[5] In general the parallelistic element in Hebrew metre reveals a symmetry which doubtless originally sprang from the choral dance-music of certain early Semitic clans.

The Refrain

One of the more important manifestations of literary repetition is the refrain. When people like the Botocudos again and again chant *Calani aha,* there is no occasion for a refrain. The refrain comes when men have passed the stage of simple iteration. It begins when the primitive improviser sings a short statement to his comrades, who respond with the clan chorus. The chorus is now transformed into a refrain which alternates with the lowly improvisation, each recurring until the festal emotion has been satisfied.[6]

This simple refrain appears in higher forms among the Semang and Eskimo as well as among most of the barbaric tribes. Indeed, not only the folk-songs and traditionary ballads but the written songs of all modern nations owe much of their virility to the unifying power of the refrain,[7] which is like the landscape reflected in the limpid current. Thus it seems evident that the refrain is originally the inarticulate dance-chorus, while in lowlier culture the concomitant song is the work of the improviser, who is tolerated even when the tribesmen have professional verse-makers composing in solitude. Finally the refrain becomes as much a product of the individual artist

[5] Witness, for example, some of the cantigas of the *Cancioneiro da Ayuda* with specimens of different kinds of parallelism. Cf. H. Reckendorf, *Ueber Paronomasie in d. semitischen Sprachen,* Giessen, 1909.

[6] A modification of this custom has been observed (M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria,* Boston, U. S. A. 1898, 305) in Babylonian hymns, the lines being alternately recited by priest and worshippers. The precentor in Scottish Gaelic churches still intones each verse of the stanza, before it is sung by the congregation to a tune like Coleshill.

[7] Cf. F. Wolf, *Proben Portugiesicher und Catalanischer Volksromanzen,* Wien, 1856, 34; R. M. Meyer, "Ueber den Refrain," *Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Litteraturgesch.,* 1888, i. 34 ff.; Jeanroy, 103; Posnett, 127; Gummere, 256 ff.

as does the singable modern lyric, though more and more it tends to disappear.

Rime

Rime[8] is another manifestation of repetition in verse. The ceaseless chanting of a single verse inevitably produces the simplest possible rime, and it is this crude monorime[9] which is heard in the Central Australian fire-chant, the Queensland lament, and the Vedda arrow-chant. Of course, the æsthetic extremes of monomial rime become evident when we compare the simplest Australian verse with a poem like the Choric Song of Tennyson's *Lotus-Eaters,* in which the lengthening verses of the last four lines of the opening stanza reflect the wavelets of a flowing tide. What a light is thrown upon prosodic evolution when we compare the Vedda monorime with that of Browning's *Through the Metidja,* in which the poet suggests the lonesome monotony of the desert. In primitive rime the tonal endings are identical,[10] whereas in artistic rime as a rule they are similar to a greater or less degree.

Binary Rime

Unconscious binary rime, as in the case of the Kwai, begins when the improviser's verse alternates with the clan-chorus. Unpremeditated binary rime may also arise, as in the West Australian dance-solo or the East Australian lullaby, when a distich with dissimilar vowel-endings is chanted over and over. Gradually with the rise of culture prosody becomes

[8] In English usage this term means end-rime. Here we are not directly concerned with alliteration and assonance, both of which seem to be derivative.

[9] What vowel-sounds play the leading part in the monorime of the hunters? Why?

[10] In modern artistic verse the nearest approach to this may be found in the "perfect" rime of French poetry, a form which also appears in Middle English. The riming words differ in meaning but not in form.

self-conscious. Bards and minstrels in all lands begin to employ rime deliberately, when its structural and æsthetic value dawns upon them. They observe that the two chief functions of rime are emphasis and euphony. An orderly variation of rime accentuates the verse-length and promotes harmony of sound, the result of which is a tendency to regulate the expression of emotion and make that expression memorable.

French Rime

French verse, for instance, being virtually without stress or accent, is based upon rime.[11] The French are too artistic to indulge in a series of perfect rimes. A master poet will at the outset merely suggest the rime which will finally appear in perfection. There is method in the poverty of the first rimes—the desire for something better must be aroused. It is only when the reader is at last fully prepared that the artist reveals a rime which is flawless.

Blank Verse

One of the Wanyamwezi improvisations was rimeless yet in perfect rhythm, while many ceremonial chants of the Zuñis are said to be in blank verse. In Italy Trissino, who wrote in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, is usually regarded as the inventor of *versi sciolti.* For more than three centuries five-stress verse, stripped of rime, has dominated English dramatic poetry, and it has also been serviceable in epic and occasional lyric compositions. Blank verse merely implies rimelessness,[12] but English usage limits the phrase to unrimed pentameter, because no other form of rimeless verse has achieved the same wonder-

[11] In Persian it is so easy to fall into rime that authors prefer verse to prose, and many of them write thousands of verses. The Japanese *Haikai* with its seventeen syllables is somewhat of a contrast to the 50,000 couplets of Firdawsi.

[12] Japanese poetry is a sort of blank verse.

ful results. Pentameter cannot be divided into two equal parts, and thus the tendency toward sing-song is barred very effectually. It is therefore suitable for long poems, which usually demand both variety and dignity in rhythmic phraseology. Good blank verse is more elastic than rime and more stately than prose.

Genesis of Rime

There is no valid reason for supposing that one race of people invented rime, and that all others borrowed the invention. Swayed by the kaleidograph of inner suggestion primitive tribes abandon themselves hour after hour to the festal chants until the performers reach the point of fatigue, up to which the repetition, in combination with the choric dance, has given a pleasure that is cumulative. Among such tribes rime in its lowliest form persists,[13] even though at other times these same hunters prefer variation of rime. It was in the ceaseless repetitions of prehistoric folk that rime seems to have had its birth, and in conformity with this view it is noteworthy that in ancient Keltic verse the rime is as indispensable as it is to-day in Romance poetry. Rime also occurs in Sanskrit epics such as the *Mahabharata* and *Nalodaya* as well as in the erotic lyrics of Jayadeva, nor is it unknown to Chinese and other Asiatic peoples. Though quantity is the dominating element in Greek and Latin poetry, rime casually survives or revives in poems such as those of Homer, Aeschylus, and Ovid. Even among the Gothic peoples[14] there is little doubt that simple rime was employed in earliest times, though alliteration gradually drove it into obscurity. Rime still survives to a limited extent in the Norse *Edda* and in the Danish or Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*.

[13] Numerous survivals of the simplest rime occur in the singing games of European children.

[14] In a work of this nature it is needless to discuss the hypotheses of Grimm, Schipper, Mayor, Norden, and others.

Mystic Numbers

The mystic numbers of literature [15] constitute another manifestation of repetition, though perhaps not so important as either rime or refrain. We have had occasion to note that the virtue of Vedda charms is increased by reciting them an indefinite number of times. An indefinite number also appears to have mystic value in the Zulu incantation relating to the lost cow. Three [16] seems to be the lowest of the definite numbers that are associated with magic or sacred literature. In an oral charm of Veddaland the wild boar is thrice addressed, but this may be due to Buddhistic influence. Besides a dance-drama in which are three suitors and three female rivals, the Semang have a mythic tale explaining that the souls swim in a boiling lake for three years.

Again, we have found that four is the sacred number of the Eskimo as it is one of the sacred numbers of the Cherokee, and the abode of the Dinka ghosts is reached after a four moons' journey. Once in four years the Zuñi epos is recited by the priests in public, though it is the six regions that dominate Zuñi ceremonial chants. In Besisi mythology the animals used to have seven souls, and the same number has sacred significance in Cherokee lyrics and literature in general. Finally, among the Maoris seventy was a sacred number, and most mythical armies contain multiples of seven.

[15] W J McGee, "Primitive Numbers," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, xix. 825, 847 ff.; P. Carus, "Seven," *Open Court*, Chicago, 1901, xv. 335, 412; F. von Andrian," Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker, "*Mitt. d' Anthr. Gesell.*, Wien, 1902, xxxii. 226; A. S. Mackenzie, "The Earliest American System of Arithmetic," *South. Sch. Journ.*, Lexington, 1906, xvii. 5ff. Cf. L. L. Conant, *The Number Concept*, New York, 1896, 7, etc.; J. T. Goodman, *Archaic Maya Inscriptions*, appendix to "Archæology" in the series Biologia Centrali-Americana, London, 1897, 8 f.; J. Sageret, "Les nombres et la cosmologie," *Rev. Scientif.*, Paris, 1908, ix. 225 ff.

[16] In the Gorilla dance of the Camma three old men act as orchestra, a detail which may be purely accidental.

In supratribal stages of culture favourite numbers appear in lyric and in other literary types all over the world, three, four, and seven being by far the most common. In folk-songs and child games they occur again and again.

Numerical Philosophy

Behind the favourite numbers of lyric poetry lies that law of suggestion which may be called Iteration. The repetition of an incantation, for instance, heightens the subjective effects, so that it becomes easy to believe that its objective value is proportionately increased. Teaching is the art of judicious repetition, of adroit suggestion.

The mystic numbers of primitive and barbaric literature, persisting as they do in the higher stages of culture, manifestly reflect tribal modes of thought. They afford but little confirmation of the time-honoured belief that the earliest numerical systems are quinary, decimal, or vigesimal, even though it is true that certain tribes count by fingers or by fingers and toes.

The potency of three seems to have arisen from the egocentric attitude of primitive man. So far as we are able to judge, all living creatures indulge in dualistic interpretations of their environment. Man, for instance, more or less unconsciously classifies all objects as helpful or hurtful to him. Life and death, good and evil, are a natural binary system subconsciously related to self, and thus arises a ternary system which inevitably finds its way into universal literature. The four of primitive thought originally refers to the four cardinal points, which are defined by sunrise and sunset, the most impressive of periodic phenomena. Six comprises the same four points augmented by zenith and nadir, while seven is the definite recognition of the ego which constitutes the centre of the six directions.

Metre

The repetitions of tribal song are more conspicuous for precision of rhythm than for charm of melody, yet it is rather incautious to assume that rhythm is the fundamental element in poetry. The truth is that approximate rhythm occurs in both prose and verse, though the rhythmic periods of prose have less regularity. Externally the essential distinction between them is mathematical. Verse is verbal rhythm that varies with the speaker and his moods. In metre the number of syllables is measured by melodic or technical requirements; in prose there is no syllabic uniformity, there is no fixed relationship between the syllables. The rhythm of prose, more subtle than that of verse, may be a free-lance without being an outlaw in the realm of literature.

Metric Dialect

It is not difficult to believe that metre had its origin in the cadence of the dance, short measures being at first universal because they were best adapted to the simple expression of simple feeling. They were as natural as breathing, but the naturalness of metric dialect is by no means so obvious. Though the inarticulate chorus has already been discussed, for a moment we ought to consider other peculiarities which seem to be variations of the simplest type of clan-chorus. Tribal metric systems range from Maori and Ainu vagueness to Fijian and Zuñi precision. Andamanese, Semang, and Fijian poetic license permits almost any alteration of colloquial speech in order to satisfy aboriginal metric requirements. Semang song-words, like those of the Botocudo women and the Maoris, may have extra syllables to suit the metre. Archaic phrases are employed by the Botocudos, the Eskimo

shamans, the Zuñi and Cherokee. Words may be used in a symbolic sense by Eskimo and Zulu diviners.

It therefore appears that the metric dialect of tribal culture has three functions. It aids in the production of measured rhythm; it tends to preserve words which for various reasons have met with tribal approval; it may even be employed out of deference to the supernatural powers.

CHAPTER XVII

BARBARIC NARRATION

BETWEEN verse and prose in all stages of culture exist action and reaction, constant though subtle. Rhythms of prose narrative, for instance, need only become numerable in order to become metrical, fit for chant or for recitation. In the tenth chapter it was pointed out that the hunting tribes are not without metrical and prose narratives, however immature these may be in theme and style. Among present-day primitive tribes the metrical narrative ranges from the impromptu chant, halting at the end of a single verse, to the heroic lay and mythic chant, brief, impressionistic. In lowliest form the prose narrative is merely a momentary story deemed worthy of being told to fellow-clansmen; in more enduring form it is a traditional mythic or legendary tale uttered through the agency of a conventional recitation which is enlivened by dance, chant, and dramatic gesture.

METRICAL NARRATIVE

The lowlier forms of barbaric literature may be characterised as nepionic. In the tenth chapter it was noted that tribal narratives in metre are at five stages of growth. Impromptu metrical narrative is not unknown among the Zulus and other cibicultural tribes, though this humble type is completely overshadowed by those higher forms of verse which are so rare among the hunting tribes. The traditional non-heroic narrative, though statelier and more rational than in a lower social culture, would also occupy a subsidiary place in any barbaric anthology. As for the war-chants they seem to afford satisfaction to most of the

tribesmen, yet the narrative element has to struggle constantly, though not always successfully, against the lyric resilience of this literary type. The subjective and objective war-chants, that have been evolved by the Maoris and Cherokee, indicate how closely they may come to resemble what is more strictly known as the heroic species of literature.

It is when we reach the fourth stage of tribal narratory metre that the epic process is perceived more clearly. The hunters were able to furnish only two modest specimens of the heroic lay, not because heroism is scarce, but because the personality of the clan usually means more than the personality of any individual. The more developed tribes have greater scope for the assertion of individuality. The position of chief or war-leader is less precarious, and hero-worship becomes more easy. Naturally therefore the heroic lays of barbarism are superior numerically as well as intrinsically. For example, we remember the two heroic pastorals of Dinkaland. The hyperbolic diction, descriptive and narratory, fitly reflects the pride and daring of one who is great because he is a Dinka herdsman and warrior. A similar manliness and vigour breathe through some of the Hypurina verses. Most artistic of all and towering above the ablest efforts of the hunters are the bardic compositions of Zulus, Maoris, Fijians, Zuñis and Cherokee.

Mythic Chants and Recitations

It is in the mythic chants and recitations that the climax of tribal narrative verse is attained. The traditionary narrative varies, of course, in length, in technique, and in literary merit. Though the same spirit animates every epos, the fetish-chant of the Camma is inferior to the semi-mythic chants of the Besisi, just as the more common Zuñi recitation ranks lower than the great aboriginal epos. It is evident that

the Maori charms, which are addressed to the ghosts of former chiefs, are analogous to the Cherokee medicine songs and charms.

If space permitted, it might be profitable either to compare the genealogical poems[1] of the Zulus with those of the Besisi, or to make an intensive study of the Zulu and Fijian chants as compared with the Toda and Zuñi recitations. In all these compositions we see deliberate art-products, composed by professionals. The restraint of recitation tends to eliminate the sporadic extravagances of chanted verse, though we should be careful not to apply rigid European measurements to alien art, be it tribal or civil. The idiosyncrasies of tribal narrative verse are not always to be ascribed to a lack of æsthetic judgment. What are they but the natural outgrowth of a social environment that is different from ours? If at times the effects seem to be bizarre, an honest effort to enter into sympathy with such phenomena may enlarge our understanding and keep us from the easy path of censure. Is it not the ultimate function of all art, more especially of literary art, to promote social solidarity by transforming the human into the humane?

Some day we may be in a position to estimate tribal art with equity as the useful and necessary forerunner of art that is more advanced. Meanwhile, perhaps every student of epic poetry may be willing to admit that the genetic problem is a little less obscure. No longer can we afford to overlook the pathetic strivings of primitive tribes. No longer can we afford to ignore Zulu panegyrics or that heroic epos whose impassioned rhetoric and unusual figures of speech extend through scores of verses. No longer may we forget that we

[1] Long lists of ancestors are to be found in Polynesia and other regions. In the *Mahabharata*, the great epic of India, are genealogical verses or gathas, which are usually sung by rhapsodists. Both the Kymric and Goidelic branches of the Kelts used to preserve their pedigrees in the verses of hereditary poets, because rights of property depended upon each man's ability to show kinship with the clan chief.

have listened to the comparatively exalted stanzas of Fijian epic and to the wonderful recitations of Zuñi hereditary priests. Amidst doubts many, at least one point becomes more clear. When epics such as these have evolved in artistry and have served their purpose as interpretations of man and nature, they change into the *fabliaux* and metrical romances of a culture that has outstripped barbarism.

Prose Narrative

In previous chapters the phrase "mythic tales" has been employed not only to represent cosmographic, animal, and heroic myths, but also to include such variants as the fairy tale, the fable, the allegory, and those tribal wonder-stories that are rehearsed for the pleasure of young or old. In other words, for the sake of convenience the name of the parent has been applied to the direct descendants, so that the serious sagas appear alongside the märchen or nursery tales. Without traversing the ground already covered in the tenth chapter, it now becomes necessary to examine briefly those myths and mythic variants that are directly concerned with the evolution of epos.

The instinct for story-telling takes two forms, the metrical and the prose narrative, each of which exerts an influence upon the other. The former blossoms into the traditionary ballad, the epic, and the metrical romance; the latter into fairy tale, fable, and novel. Prose has its potencies no less distinctive than those of poetry, and when narrative verse was far from self-confident, she found a kindred spirit in prose narrative. If we do not insist upon applying canons that are impracticable in the study of tribal literature, traditional narratives of mythic texture may fairly enough be called incipient epic. Their form is as fixed as oral transmission will permit. Rudimentary though they may seem in certain aspects, they serve to ennoble

life by indirectly inculcating sympathy with animals and by linking living men with notable ancestors whose better deeds are worthy of emulation.

The Icelandic sagas as well as works like Carlyle's *French Revolution* have sometimes been regarded as specimens of prose epic, and the same claim may almost be urged for those narratives which are dignified by tribal philosophy in the guise of myth. In both primitive and barbaric life it is the mythic basis that supports and exalts those tribal customs which find their highest oral expression in metrical and prose narration. It would be hypercritical to deny that the epic spirit animates and lifts far above the commonplace the traditional myths of practically all primitive and barbaric tribes.

The essence of epos permeates the Dinka narratives which celebrate the deeds of Ding-deet, the culture-hero or deity. There is even more grandeur of style in the cycle of Maui myths, through which the Maoris eulogize their culture-hero. For the sake of indirect æsthetic and direct religious effect the Toda myths and legends are narrated with the help of sporadic words and phrases such as are never used in colloquial speech. Certain heroes they have deified, and a series of heroic legends cluster around Kwoto. Originally the Cherokee myths were mere explanatory details in the mysteries or sacred dramas. In short, experimenting in the laboratory of mythology, tribal vernacular transforms itself into that form of literary language called prose. In order to do justice to the spirits, human and superhuman, the tribesmen are led to recite mythic tales in a style superior to that of an everyday conversation. These gropings eventually lead to prose narrative, which in turn prepares the way for the rhythms of prose in general.

The Fairy Tale

Of the three kinds of myths, cosmographic, animal, and heroic, the first and last in metrical form constitute the framework of the conventional epic; whereas in prose form the first gravitate toward fairy tales and descriptive science, and the last toward prose romance and political history. In metrical form the animal myth becomes beast-epic, while in prose form it leads to fable, parable, and allegory.

It may be asked why should fairy tale and fable be discussed under "Barbaric Narration." For two reasons, first because fairy tale and fable are born in the barbaric atmosphere, second because both are mere variants of the epic process. Each is traditionary narrative, modified in different ways to suit the demands of a more complex culture. Each is a literary product of that growing rationality which finally sweeps the traditionary epic out of existence, leaving transmutations which more adequately represent the mental attitude of the society in which they survive.

The fairy tale, which makes its first definite appearance in barbaric culture, seems to be a special form of the primitive cosmographic myth. Among the cosmographic myths of the Fuegians and other hunting tribes are those which imply belief in wonder-working spirits that are neither divine nor human. Some of these supernatural beings, good or bad, acquire those specific differences which we are accustomed to associate with fairies. While fairy prototypes are common enough in primitive life, not a single fairy tale has hitherto been recorded. On the other hand, the Maoris confidently believe in the "little yellow-haired-people," and the Cherokee have a similar point of view. In neither case is there any reason to suspect borrowing from people of alien culture; in neither case is there the least probability of collusion.

From the conventional European standpoint the fairy tale is simply a species of nursery tale. From the genetic standpoint the fairy tale is a traditionary narrative concerning certain preternatural beings that are neither divine nor ghostly.[2] At first it receives as much credence as did the myth from which it sprang. Thus it was with the Anglo-Keltic forefathers of the English-speaking people of to-day. Finally scepticism arises among the narrators, and the fairy tale is told as a species of fiction or is obliged to find refuge in the nursery, whence time after time it casts a magic spell upon the literature of modern civilisation.

The Fable

In the tenth chapter we had occasion to notice why primitive tribes have no fables, though animal myths are plentiful. When barbarism is reached, we find animal myths surviving alongside the more rational and less serious fables. The Ainu, for instance, have passed beyond primitiveness, yet animal myths like that of the hare-god still survive. The Zulu animal myth concerning the chameleon and the lizard does not exclude the fable about the hyena and the moon. The Fijians are versatile in fable lore, while the Cherokee teach ethics through the medium of a Rabbit cycle,[3] a series of fables which are distinct from their animal myths.

Totemism is the dynamic element in the animal myth, which becomes the parent of the fable. In the animal myth the creatures talk because the narrator

[2] The Zulu giants and monsters, the spectre huntsman of the Besisi, and similar products of barbaric fancy are, like the fairies and elves, modified characters that appear in cosmographic mythology. For latest work on Highland fairies see James Macdougall, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*, Edinburgh, 1909 (ed. by Geo. Calder).

[3] It is different from the Western Eskimo cycle of Raven myths. This series of culture myths, really constituting a theory of the universe, has deliberate epic purpose and dignity. They await the touch of synthesis that would place them within the realm of unquestioned literary art. Cf. Nelson, 450.

believes that they can or could,[4] whereas animal speech in the fable is regarded as fictitious or at least doubtful. The fable begins when men are growing sceptical of traditional interpretations, when they have lost faith in totemism and its implications.

All prose deals with either man or nature. The two main types of tribal prose are the legend and the Aesopic myth or fable. The former professes to deal with the notable deeds of men of a bygone age; the latter is usually a traditional account of the deeds and dialogues of the lower animals. The fable may be a short story told in order to pass the time, but more frequently it is a didactic narrative. Tribal fables are much more common than legends, because man's curiosity is always more excited by the mysterious than the more obvious. His clan fellows are more or less like himself, whereas other objects, animate and inanimate, exhibit forms, or sounds, or movements that pique his inquisitiveness by their variety and their difference from his own ways. More than anything else in nature the beasts appeal to primitive man because without them he and his could not live. Possibly therefore the beast fables, in their primal form as animal myths, are the earliest of all prose narratives. At all events in the prescriptorial stage of society such traditions, constituting in large measure the tribal prose literature, undoubtedly play an important part in the education of the young.

Advanced Fable

As a literary type the fable in modern usage signifies a story in either prose or verse, preferably about beasts, through which we may learn a truth that is supposed to be universal. Reason is ascribed to the lower animals and other unhuman objects, a device which has lost none of its ancient fascination. The

[4] The Edenic serpent and Balaam's donkey are notable illustrations.

Pañcatantra, or Five Books, contains the most celebrated collection of Sanskrit fables, many of which are humorous. They are told in prose, while gnomic verses from the earlier poets are sandwiched between the regular narrative. A single narrative ingeniously embraces other narratives, a plan that was adopted by Persia and Arabia. In the sixth century the collection was translated into Pahlavi, which was at that time the literary language of Persia. When these fables of India appeared in Arabic dress, they found their way into many languages of the East and the West, ultimately inspiring the great La Fontaine and many other men of letters.

Whether any such person as Aesop ever did or did not exist, so inseparably was the name linked with the fables of Greece that the phrase Aesopic myth ultimately became a synonym for beast-fable. Hesiod, Archilochus, and others employ occasional fables, though doubtless in oral form they were common enough in rural districts. About 320 B. C. Demetrius of Phalerum made a collection of the fables known in his day, most of which are really the common property of the Aryan or Indo-European peoples. The Latin fables of Phaedrus are mainly clever modifications of those of Aesop. In medieval monasteries fables were written partly for amusement and partly for instruction, others being current among the laity in one guise or another. In sly humour and fidelity to nature none of these fabulists surpasses Henryson. In modern times most nations have written fables in order to teach some phase of wisdom.

The Bestiary

The subtleties of philosophy produced a remarkable variation or elaboration of the beast-fable. The bestiary professes to describe animals, real and imaginary, so as to show that all the attributes of the

human soul have their emblem or embodiment in the brute world. Possibly the oldest and certainly the best known bestiary is the *Physiologus,* which was compiled in Alexandria about the second century of the Christian era. All later bestiaries are based upon it, and during the Middle Ages there was no form of literature more popular with theologians and others.

The *Physiologus*[5] is a summary of current views and venerable traditions concerning plants and animals, the exposition of which involves moral reflections. A fable may constitute the text of a sermon or suggest the topic of a discourse. According to St. Basil it is more important to glean spiritual truth from those stories than it is to prove the existence of the griffin or the unicorn. In brief, the love of symbolism or allegory leads to all kinds of extravagances, which are reflected in the architecture and didactics, the pageant and the literature of medieval Europe.

Mock Epic

By reason of its theme this is perhaps the most appropriate place for alluding to the beast-epic, which marks a higher literary development than either fable or bestiary. The typical specimen of this class is the "Frogmousiad" or "Mousiad," whose authorship is in doubt.[6] It is the one mock epic of Greece that has been honoured by many imitators in later Europe. The three hundred and sixteen hexameters constitute a clever burlesque of the *Iliad.*

After fleeing from a deadly enemy a mouse is drinking at a pool, when a frog hops up with a polite invitation to visit his home. The mouse accepts the invitation, but as soon as an otter comes in sight the frog dives out of danger, leaving the unlucky mouse to his

[5] Wright, 75; F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus,* Strassburg, 1889 (bibliog.); E. P. Evans, 52.
[6] This is the *Batrachomyomachia.*

fate. Another mouse carries the news to his tribe, and in anger the mice formally issue a challenge to the frogs. Zeus and Athena consult as to what part they shall play in the campaign. The mice defeat their foes, and in the first flush of victory they regard the thunder of Zeus with contempt. Finally they scamper off as soon as a legion of crabs appear upon the battlefield.

Allegory

From the literary standpoint allegory is narrative in which the ostensible tale more or less veils the underlying course of thought. The literal narrative is simply the agency through which the real narrative is conveyed. Metaphor, fable, and parable are allegorical species. The shortest possible allegory is the figure of speech called metaphor. Both fable and parable are longer than metaphor and generally briefer than allegory. Fable usually represents animals as speakers and actors, whereas parable tells a possible incident with a moral or religious purpose.

Allegory, which is unknown in primitive life, begins to make its appearance in barbarism, when life is growing a little more complex. The most promising primitive narratives are myths and legends, whose meaning is supposed to be on the surface. Even the narratives associated with primitive mystery-plays convey only one meaning, though the uninitiated may find them devoid of significance. The dualistic mode of thought, which is essential to allegory, is alien to tribes whose manners are comparatively simple.

Barbaric tribes have learned to transform the unequivocal myth into the equivocal allegory. This fact is illustrated by the Camma tale of Njabi and by many verses of Fijian epic poetry. The humorous Zulu song about the rabbit and the feather is a brief allegory, whose mixed metaphors are possibly intentional.

Advanced Allegory

Metrical and prose allegories occur in virtually all written literature. The "Rise of the Moon of Knowledge" is a notable allegorical play of India,[7] written about the eleventh century in order to throw a halo over Brahmanism. In Europe this is paralleled much earlier by the emblematic diction that appears so often in the comedies of Aristophanes and Plautus, and later by the allegorical dramas of Calderon the Spaniard as well as by the miracle-plays and morality-plays.

It was during the Middle Ages that the allegorists began to dominate the whole realm of European literature,[8] a domination which slowly yielded to the power of civic individualism. Those allegorical types are impersonal abstractions, modified revivals of tribal modes of thought, revivals that reflect the impersonality of the medieval guild. It is the communal life of the medieval town that is reflected in the Mysteries and Moralities.

Allegorical Romance

The allegorical romance of Europe dates back to the fourteenth century, birthtime of the *Roman de la Rose*. For several centuries it set the fashion for the rest of literary Europe. More's *Utopia* is a political as Sidney's *Arcadia* is a pastoral allegory, each in some measure expressive of social aspirations. Of religious allegories Dante's *Divina Commedia* is the most sublime as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the most human.[9]

[7] This is the *Prabodha-chandrodaya*.

[8] Posnett, 215, 354; G. Saintsbury, *Flourishing of Romance*, New York, 1897, 291 ff.; W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, 4 vols., London, 1895–1903, i. 341 ff.; C. A. Bradford, "Of Allegory," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, London, 1906, xxvii. 31 ff.

[9] Directly or indirectly the latter work took its cue from Guillaume de Guileville's *Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme*, which has been inspired by the *Romance of the Rose*.

Neither formal allegory nor epic is able to thrive in modern democratic society. In place of those a mystic strain in poetry and the novel in prose seem to mark the most recent stage in social and literary evolution.

CHAPTER XVIII

AUTOCRATIC LITERATURE

TRIBAL literature has occupied more space than can be given to the literature of higher civilisation, first, because the former is less familiar, and second, because it is more difficult to estimate by reason of the contrast between tribal culture and our own. It would be tedious to dwell upon literary details with which perhaps most readers are already acquainted, so that we shall now proceed more rapidly to trace out the evolution of those literary types which seem to reach their culmination in the higher stages of culture. By foreshortening what is more developed and better known, the student of literature may preserve a perspective that is true relatively to our present state of knowledge.

In the foregoing pages we have been considering tribal literature from its humble beginnings in the communal dance, the choral chant of one or two words, and the mythic prose narrative. The lax organisation of primitive society is seen to be the inevitable outcome of the uncertainty connected with the food-quest. A strong central government is virtually impossible among small roving bands of hunters and fishermen, the narrowness of whose pursuits presents but a limited scope for variation among individuals. The greater division of labour among barbaric or cibicultural tribes is seen to be coördinate with greater definiteness in literary and other social activities. The primitive chieftain becomes the dominant chief of barbarism, some of whose qualities may be deemed worthy of delineation in heroic verse. The effects of

social and individual evolution are thus more or less concomitant.

In autocracy there need not be any pretence of blood-relationship between the various social units. By diplomacy or warfare a village or territorial chief asserts his authority over neighbouring chiefs. In return for the loyalty of the sub-chiefs the great chief or absolute monarch stands ready to defend them against foreign aggression. Despotism and slavery are outgrowths of the same movement. Under one jurisdiction are peoples of diverse rank and culture, whose interborrowings give a new stimulus to invention. The constant intercourse between different tribes and peoples tends to submerge the ancient blood-ties in the stream of imperial authority, at the same time broadening the mental horizon without which no upward step in civilisation is possible. Even where there is little or no diversity of culture among the newly-welded elements, the civic organisation of autocracy directly or indirectly encourages foreign commerce in order to find an outlet for the beginnings of industrialism or with a view to the expansion of militancy. In either case there is acculturation from without.

We shall see that the divergent interests of men find their highest expression in variety of literary phenomena. In the autocratic stage of society cultural advancement is speedier than before, because man has learned to record his experiences, and can thus more readily avoid the blunders of past generations while profiting by their achievements. It is the difference in medium that gives written literature an advantage over oral. It is writing that helps to distinguish the autocratic and democratic literatures from their primitive and barbaric predecessors, even as it marks the distinction between the literature of the schools and the folk-literature of advanced civilisation.

1. Babylonia

While it is true that a barbaric chief may be a despot, the scope of his jurisdiction is comparatively limited. Autocracy attains full vigour only when several tribes or village communities of cognate or of alien descent submit to the authority of an absolute monarch, some of whose followers are acquainted with the art of writing. Among autocratic governments none is more interesting than Babylonia, an empire which had its birth among city-states in the southern portion of the land that lies between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

a. Drama

The Babylonian composer or editor was doubtless largely guided by the nature of the material with which the scribe or recorder had to work. Most of the cuneiform writings are on moulds of clay, a substance whose abundance made its use a convenience. Although clay tablets are more enduring than papyrus or some equally pliable substance, yet engraved bricks and cylinders take up much space, and a librarian was likely to exclude everything that was not deemed of prime importance. Moreover, those cuneiforms that were preserved were apt to be terse and plain in style. If there were repetitions of simple sentences, these were felt to have a magical or a rhetorical value, though in early days they may have been merely the catch-phrases of a people whose literature was entirely or mainly oral.

The cuneiform tablets of Babylonian libraries have hitherto thrown little or no light upon histrionics, a fact which is in no way surprising to those who remember that the scribes were educated in priestly schools. Why should the officials try to find room in royal or sacerdotal archives for records of the musical per-

formances, the festive dancing, and the pageantry that pleased the popular fancy?[1] Whatever justification there was for recording educational, legal, astronomic, and other data[2] of direct service to society, it was felt that all literary phenomena were worthy of preservation in proportion to the clearness with which they had caught the accents of civic or national religion. If there was a Babylonian theatre, its existence is unknown. However, future excavations and decipherments may reveal at least a liturgical drama, the essence of which already appears in the dramatic dialogues of the epics, in religious processions, in litany and libation, in gesture and incantation, in symbolry and antiphonal singing of temple worship as well as funeral ceremony.

b. Lyric

After the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.) had sent out his scribes to secure copies of Babylonia's choicest literary treasures, the library at Nineveh was probably excelled by none of its contemporaries. Besides folk-songs Assyro-Babylonian lyric, whose imagery is often quaint and vigorous, comprises magic songs, prayers, hymns, psalms, and dirges. The magical texts[3] are usually arranged in serial form with a view to ready reference. In their original form some

[1] H. Smith, 55 (double flute), 253 (dulcimer), 262 (harp); Jastrow, 59 (New Year's Day), 676, 687; G. Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, New York, 1905, 207 (dancing and singing), 231, 261 (royal parade), 365. Cf. L. Heuzey, "Nouveaux Monuments, etc.," *Rev. d'Assyr.*, iii. 14 (kings disguised as slaves).

[2] A. H. Sayce, *Babylonian Literature*, London, N. D., 16, 73; C. Bezold, *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick ueber die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1886, 193. Cf. O. Weber, *Literatur d. Bab.*, Leipzig, 1907; H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes Archaiques*, Paris, 1909; A. Poebel, *Legal and Business Documents*, Philadelphia, 1909; J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, vols. 2 and 3, Leipzig, 1909.

[3] F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1885, 130 ff.; E. A. Budge, "Assyrian Incantations, etc.," *Records of the Past*, xi. 133 ff.: K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, Leipzig, 1894, 14 ff.; Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne*, (essay and translation); R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 2 vols., London, 1903–4 (spells employed as early as 3000 B. C.; Egyptian and Syrian analogues). Cf. F. Maurer, "Der Phallusdienst bei den Israeliten u. Babylon.," *Globus*, 1907, xcii. 256 ff.

texts probably antedate the temple of Bel at Nippur, and others were edited during the reign of Hammurabi (c. 1900 B. C.). Many are in stanzas of four, six or eight verses,[4] while other stanzas have an extra line resembling a refrain or response.

Frequently the evil spirits are depicted as awe-inspiring monsters, the colossal statues of human-headed bulls and lions being the most familiar representatives of the class. As the demons are stealthy in their approach, no man can tell against which of them he ought to utter an incantation. Hence magic formulas may be pronounced against all of them under the mystic or universal number seven. The following is an example,[5] the impressive iteration of whose last line echoes the idea of universality:

> Seven are they, they are seven!
> In the subterranean deep are they seven;
> In brightness of the sky are they seven.
> In part of the subterranean deep they were reared.
> Male they are not, female they are not;
> They are desolating whirlwinds.
> Wife they have not, neither is child born to them.
> Compassion and mercy they know not;
> Prayer and supplication they hear not.
> As horses bred on the mountains are they.
> Hostile to Ea (god of men) are they;
> Mighty among the gods are they.
> In order to do mischief, in the street are they settled.
> Evil are they, they are evil.
> Seven are they, they are seven, seven, and again seven.

The numerical superiority of witches over wizards is simply a survival, possibly Sumero-Akkadian, of primitive culture, of the days when the clan-mothers used to search for plants to nourish, heal, or kill. Incantations against either witches or demons are ren-

[4] Jastrow, 259. See also M. Jastrow's *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1902 (in progress), 203 ff. (omens).

[5] H. C. Rawlinson, *Cunei. Inscrip. West. Asia*, iv. pl. 2. col. v. 11, 30 ff.; Sayce, *Bab. Lit.*, 36; Jastrow, 264. Cf. H. F. Talbot, "On the Religious Belief, etc.," *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, ii. 73 ff.; P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881–2, 85 (classes of demons named); P. Jensen, "De Incantamentorum, etc.," *Zeit. f. Keilschr.*, i. 279, ii. 15, etc.

dered more effective by making a clay picture or image of witch or of demon. The image is solemnly burned, since the fire-god is specially potent against the powers of darkness. Here is a typical charm:[6]

High hold I the torch, put in fire the images
Of Utukku, of Shedu, of Rabisu, of Ekimmu,
Of Labartu, of Labasu, of Akhkhazu,
Of Lilu, of Lilitu, of the maidservant of Lilu,
Of every foe that clutches mankind.
Totter, melt away, and vanish!
May your smoke ascend to heaven!
May (the god) Shamash destroy your limbs!
May the son of Ea (*i. e.*, the fire-god),
The great magician, shatter your spells!

The pathetic undertone of every Babylonian supplication is a yearning for long life upon earth. The prayers of Nebuchadrezzar II, contemporary of the Hebrew prophet Daniel, illustrate the national attitude. When the temple in honour of Nin-karrak, the great physician, is restored, he offers this petition:[7]

Nin-karrak, lofty goddess! look with favour upon the work of my hands;
Mercy toward me be the command of thy lips.
A long life, abundance of offspring,
Health and joy, vouchsafe unto me as a boon.
In presence of Shamash and Marduk cause my deeds to be regarded with favour;
Grace for me do thou command.

The great temple at Sippar was known as E-babbara, the house of lustre. When king Nebuchadrezzar restores it to its ancient grandeur, he thus invokes Shamash, the sun-god, the judge of heaven and earth:[8]

Shamash, great lord!
When thou makest thy entrance
Into E-babbara, dwelling-place of thy lordship,

[6] R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, New York, 1901, 376 f.; A. Jeremias, *Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, London, 1902, 27.

[7] Jastrow, 294; Harper, 147 (C. D. Gray). Cf. E. Anwyl, "Ancient Celtic Goddesses," *Celtic Review*, Edinburgh, 1906, iii. 40 (Icovellauna, protectress of health).

[8] C. J. Ball. in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xi. 124 (cited by Jastrow, 295). Cf. Harper, 154.

Look with favour upon my precious handiwork;
Mercy toward me be thy command.
Through thy righteous order may I have abundance of strength;
Long life and a firm throne vouchsafe unto me.
May my reign endure forever!
With lawful sceptre of happy rulership,
With lawful staff, bringing salvation to men, adorn my dominion forever.
With strong weapons for the fray protect my soldiers.
Then, O Shamash, by oracle and dream do thou answer correctly.
By thy supreme command, which is unchangeable,
May thy arms advance, smite, overthrow the arms of the foe.

The hymns, virtually forming part of the incantation ritual, constitute an important section of Babylonian lyric. From a literary standpoint those that are addressed to Shamash are noticeable. The following hymn [9] is in honour of the sun-god in the western sky:

O Sun-god, when thou goest to rest in mid-heaven
May the bars of bright heaven speak peace to thee,
May the gateway of heaven approach thee.
May Misharu, thy loving herald, direct thy pathway,
That in E-babbara, the seat of thy rule, thy majesty may rise,
And A, thy cherished spouse, may receive thee with joy.
May thy heart find repose;
May the glory of thy divinity be brought unto thee.
O Shamash! warrior hero, may thou be exalted;
Lord of E-babbara, in thy march may thy course be directed;
Direct thy path; march along the way determined for thee.
O Shamash! judge of the earth, arbiter of its laws art thou.

Of penitential psalms part of a single specimen must suffice: [10]

Lord, my sins are many, great are my iniquities.
O my god, my sins are many, great my iniquities.
O my goddess, my sins are many, great my iniquities.
The sin that I have committed I know not;
The iniquity that I have done I know not;
The offence that I have committed I know not;

[9] T. G. Pinches, "Antiquities, etc.," *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, viii. 167 f. Cf. E. Combe, *Histoire du Culte de Sin*, Paris, 1908; F. A. Vanderburgh, *Sumerian Hymns*, New York, 1908; W. Schrank, *Bab. Sühnriten*, Leipzig, 1908 (hymn composition may have arisen from exorcistic exclamations); S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Bab. Psalms*, Paris, 1909.

[10] Sayce, *Bab. Lit.*, 44; F. Hommel, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1883, 317; Harper, 437 f.

The transgression I have done I know not.
The lord in the anger of his heart hath stricken me;
The god in the wrath of his heart hath visited me;
The goddess against me is enraged and hath dealt harshly.
I sought for help, and no one taketh my hand.

Lord, do not cast aside thy servant;
He is cast into the mire; take his hand.
The sin I have committed do thou cancel;
My transgression let the wind carry hence.

All misfortunes that were not due to demons came from offended deities, to whom the penitential psalms were addressed. The frequent anonymity of this type of religious lyric probably arose from the fact that the penitent was often in doubt as to the god or goddess whose anger he had provoked. The dramatic element is obtained through the medium of dialogue, involving the sinner, the priest, and the deity.

c. Epic

Besides the metrical oracles and omens,[11] which belong to narrative rather than lyric verse, there are the metrical myths and legends, constituting epic of no mean character. The tablets contain more than one version of the creation of the world, a myth from which may be obtained a fair account of Babylonian cosmology.[12] This myth is but an episode in a series of verses that celebrate the deeds of the divine Marduk, the Merodach of the Bible. Both diction and metre[13] are the result of studied art. As a rule the stanzas consist of four or eight verses, each of which has two divisions.

[11] T. G. Pinches, "The Oracle of Ishtar of Arbela," *Records of the Past*, xi. 59 ff., N. S., v. 129 ff.; A. Boissier, "Deux Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Presages," *Rev. Semitique*, i. 63, 168; Jastrow, 328ff.; A. Boissier, *Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination assyro-babylonienne*, Genève, 1905.

[12] W. F. Warren, "The Babylonian Universe Newly Interpreted." *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, 977 (revises some of the astronomic conclusions of Hommel, Jensen, Radau, and others).

[13] E. A. W. Budge, "Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vi. 7; F. Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*, Leipzig, 1896, 61 ff.

The opening lines of the Creation epic [14] indicate that Babylonia, like Egypt, regarded nothing as existent until it was named.

> Of old, when above, the heaven was unnamed,
> Beneath, the earth bore not any name,
> Apsu the ocean became their begetter,
> Tiamat, the primal mother of them both.
> In one the fluid masses mingled together.
>
> Then there appeared the first of the gods.

At first, personified as male and female, the primeval chaos of waters alone existed. When the gods revolted against Tiamat, she created monsters as allies. Upon condition that he should be acknowledged as ruler of the universe, Marduk agreed to act as champion of the gods. Armed with bow and quiver, spear and trident, he went forth in a war-chariot drawn by fiery steeds. The conflict is thus described: [15]

> The Lord unfolded his net to enmesh her;
> The hurricane waiting behind he set free in front.
> When Tiamat opened her mouth full wide,
> He hurled the hurricane so that her jaws could close not;
> The fierce wind was dilating her maw;
> Her heart was beset, her mouth opened all the more.
> He clutched the spear, thrusting it into her maw;
> He pierced the viscera, tearing through her heart;
> He grappled with her, crushing out her life.

The epic next describes the separation of heaven and earth in the quaint fashion of Australian, Maori, and other tribal mythologies. Finally man appears.

Among the metrical legends of Old Babylonia none

[14] P. Haupt, in *Proc. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1896, 161; H. Zimmern, *Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, London, 1901, 15. Cf. T. G. Pinches, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, 393 ff. (the Sumerian version of the Creation contains no allusion to the contest between Merodach and Tiawath or Tiamat); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, Göttingen, 1895, 29.

[15] A. H. Sayce, "The Assyrian Story of the Creation," *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, i. 139 f.; W. H. Ward. "Bel and the Dragon," *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang. Lit.*, xiv. 94 ff.; P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890, 284 ff.; Delitzsch, *Bab. Weltsch.*, 106 f.; Zimmern, *Bab. and Heb. Gen.*, 18. This fight with a female monster recalls the conflict between Beowulf and Grendel's mother, both myths being possible survivals of prehistoric matriarchy.

Courtesy of S. P. C. K. *Maspero.*

THE GOD MARDUK AND THE DRAGON TIAMAT OF THE BABYLONIAN CREATION EPIC.

ranks so high as the Gilgamesh epic.[16] The hero is an ancient king whose feats, like those of Alexander and Cuchulain, have been magnified by tradition. The nucleus of history is almost lost amidst the clusters of nature myths, and yet the deified hero retains many features of the highest human interest. In its original form the poem may have contained about three thousand verses inscribed upon twelve tablets, which typify the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Angry because Gilgamesh has spurned her love, the goddess Ishtar smites him with a terrible malady, but he resolves that he will not yield to death. After many thrilling adventures he sails close to the home of a great ancestor who had attained immortality. From him the hero hopes to obtain the secret of unending life. In the course of conversation his ancestor Pernapishtim [17] relates the story of the Deluge, a scene from which is depicted thus: [18]

> Thou man of Shurippak, son of Kidin-Marduk!
> Erect a structure, build a ship,
> Abandon thy goods, look after the souls,
> Cast away thy possessions, preserve thy life,
> Bring life-seed of all kinds aboard the ship.
> The ship which thou shalt build—
> Well calculated be its measurements.

When the horrors of darkness, rain-storm, and floating corpses have been recounted, the narrative reveals Pernapishtim in the act of opening a port-hole. It is the seventh day since the Deluge began.

[16] P. Haupt *Das Bab. Nimrodepos,* Leipzig, 2 vols., 1884–91, 93 f.; T. G. Pinches, "Exit Gishtubar," *Bab. and Orient. Record,* 1890, iv. 264; J. Oppert, "Le Persée Chaldéen," *Rev. d'Assyr.,* ii. 121 ff.; H. Schneider, *Die Entwick. d. Gilgameschepos,* Leipzig, 1909.

[17] The name has been read Shamashnapishtim (Haupt, etc.), Sitnapishtim (Jensen, etc.), Pirnapishtim (Zimmern, etc.), Parnapishtim (Jastrow), Pernapishtim (Harper). See H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names,* Philadelphia, 1905; P. Michatz, *Die Götterlisten,* etc., Breslau, 1909.

[18] G. Smith, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.,* iii. 534 ff.; Haupt, *Nimrodepos,* 134 f.; Jensen, *Kosmologie,* 301 ff.; F. Sauveplane, *Une Épopée Babylonienne,* Paris, 1894, 128 ff.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung,* 423 ff.; Zimmern, *Bab. and Heb. Gen.,* 51 f.; Jeremias, *Bab. Concept.,* 34 ff.; H. V. Hilprecht, *Earliest Version of Babylonian Deluge-story,* etc., Philadelphia, 1910. The god Ea, who controls the waters, advises the Babylonian Noah to leave the land, which is the domain of the hostile god Bel.

I sank down, I cowered, I wept;
Down my cheeks flowed the tears.

When land finally appeared, the ship was steered toward Mount Nisir. Six days it lay stranded.

The seventh day at dawn
I took dove and let her go free.
Flying the dove went to and fro;
Finding no resting place, back she returned.
I took a swallow and let her go free.
Flying the swallow went to and fro;
Finding no resting place, back she returned.
I took a raven,[19] and let him go free.
Far flew the raven, saw the waters abating,
Eating and croaking, ne'er returned he.

Near the close of the Gilgamesh epic occurs a scene that is not without Keltic and Scandinavian analogues. He who falls in battle enjoys special privileges, if his body is properly interred and cared for.

On a soft couch reposeth,
Drinking pure water,
He who was slain in war.
Thou hast seen it, I have seen it;
His father and mother support his head,
His wife kneeling by his side.[20]

d. Prose

Babylonian prose, exclusive of texts not purely literary, comprises letters and legends, fables and historical inscriptions. In the archives of palace or temple were preserved most of the extant epistolary tablets,[21]

[19] In Palestine as in Arabia the raven is a bird of evil omen, whereas in Babylonia it has the power of dispelling demons. It is "the bird that helpeth the gods," reminding us of the ravens of Odin and Flokki. M. Valerius surnamed Corvus (Livy vii. 26) received miraculous aid from a raven. Hornkliofi's song in honour of Harald Fairhair contains the dialogue between a raven and a Finnish Valkyr.

[20] Jeremias, *Bab. Concept.*, 39. In Gaelic mythology it is Cairbre who bears the souls of slain warriors to Flathanas.

[21] R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K. Collection*, 4 vols., Chicago, 1892–6; R. C. Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, London, 1906; T. G. Pinches, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, 145 ff. (Tell-el-Amarna correspondence has two texts, which are believed to be the earliest known examples of Aryan); *Letters to Cassite Kings*, Philadelphia, 1908 (Radau); *Altbab. Privatbriefe*, Paderborn, 1908 (Landersdorfer); *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1909 (Knudtzon); *Le Style Administratif chez les Assyriens*, Paris, 1910 (M. Zeitlin).

which deal with a variety of themes, though they are chiefly of an official nature. Among these are proclamations, petitions, physicians' bulletins, and reports of civil and military officers. More colloquial in style than other forms of prose composition, these letters serve incidentally to bring out each writer's individuality. The Tell-el-Amarna correspondence demonstrates that about the fifteenth century before the Christian era the cuneiform script in one respect resembled modern French. It was the medium of diplomacy.

Among prose tales the Adapa legend[22] is one of the most conspicuous. Adapa, son or ward of the god Ea, is a fisherman whom the storm overtakes while he is out on the blue sea. The hero breaks the wings of the south wind. His summons before the gods, his return to earth, and other episodes of his career are graphically set forth in the narrative.

While most of the historical inscriptions,[23] which include annals, military records, and laudatory texts, are of meagre literary merit, they have a very high didactic value. Since in all lands prose is slower than poetry in attaining maturity, it is natural that the historical records of Assyria should excel those of Old Babylonia. For example, the description of the battle of Halule, which occurred in the reign of Sennacherib, is much more vivid, not to say thrilling, than anything hitherto found in earlier narratives of a similar character, while an even greater literary excellence permeates the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal's reign.

[22] H. Winckler and L. Abel, *Thontafelfund von El-Amarna,* Berlin, 1891, iii. 166a, b; E. T. Harper, "Die Babylonischen Legenden," *Beitr. z. Assyr.,* Leipzig, ii. 420 f.; Jeremias, *Bab. Concept.,* 41 ff.

[23] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes,* Paris, 1903 (400 inscriptions arranged chronologically); G. S. Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians,* New York, 1906, 377 ff. (chron. summary, different from that of King); L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings,* 2 vols., London, 1907 (from Sargon of Agade to the seventh century B. C.); S. Langdon, "Sumerians and Semites in Babylonia," *Babyloniaca,* Paris, 1908, ii. 137 ff.; P. Schnabel, *Studien z. Bab.-Assyr. Chronologie,* Leipzig, 1908; id., *Die Bab. Chron. in Berossos' Babyloniaka,* 1909; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums,* 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1909, 305 ff.; L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad,* London, 1910.

2. India

Another Asiatic literature, which is now to be examined briefly, has been composed in Indo-Aryan. In the absence of definite chronological data the sequence of the earlier works is based mainly upon the form and the nature of the literary material. In the evolution of this literature there is a marked antinomy, due perhaps to miscegenation, and certainly due to social rather than physical environment. It is a most intricate problem, a partial solution of which—as in the case of all other advanced peoples—may be found in survivals from earlier periods of social organisation.

a. Drama

Though the formal Sanskrit drama may be as late as the fifth century of our era, it is not necessary to assume that the histrionic element was absent during the pre-Vedic and Vedic periods.[24] The truth is that the Vedic hymns contain both indirect and direct evidence suggestive of co-existent dramatic strivings.[25] Some of the hymns contain dialogues which, like those of the Homeric characters, are potentially dramatic.[26] Moreover, dance and song, wedding and funeral rites, sacred and secular festivals, all point to a nascent drama which will attain coherence whenever improvised dialogue blends with the dancing and singing. Thereafter unity of action is the sole step necessary to the birth of drama proper.

One of the beginnings of Indo-Aryan drama seems

[24] The antiquity of Vedic culture is still debatable. Cf. L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, Leipzig, 1887, 291; Max Muller, *India; What Can It Teach Us*, London, 1892, 202; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, U. S. A., 1898, 7; A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, New York, 1900, 11 f.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 1095 (H. Oldenberg), 1100 (A. B. Keith); 1910, 456, 464, 846.

[25] S. Levi, *Le Theâtre Indien*, Paris, 1890, 333; R. W. Frazer, *Literary History of India*, New York, 1898, 265 (Vedic dancing-girls); Hopkins, 98 (dance of the Maruts), 372 (people's dance).

[26] Cf. *RV.* i. 179; iii. 33; iv. 18, 42; viii. 89; x. 10, 51, 86, 95, 108.

to be preserved in the Sanskrit term for play, which literally signifies dancing or ballet. Perhaps the immediate predecessor of the regular drama was the religious play or ritual drama associated with the cult of Siva and Vishnu,[27] and especially with the god Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu. Mimetic dances, accompanied by songs, reproduced the legendary deeds of these deities.

It is possible that Hellenic influence helped to shape the classical Hindu drama.[28] It is alleged that Greek actors accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition to India, and that his victories were celebrated with histrionic exhibitions. For some time after Alexander's death Northwestern India was occupied by Greek rulers. The jester of Hindu drama, the vidushaka, may be compared with the go-between of Graeco-Roman comedy, and with the low-comedy man of medieval Tartar plays. If it be admitted that some of the details of stagecraft are of possible alien origin, the themes at least are Indic, based as a rule upon history or epic legend.

Sanskrit drama,[29] which is at its best from the fifth to the eighth century of our era, excludes tragedy. The hero is usually a monarch who becomes involved in a love affair, the working out of which leads to adventures, possible and impossible. In the dramas

[27] Frazer, *Lit. Hist.*, 269. It was as vegetal deities that Heracles and Dionysos seem to have been identified with Siva or Vishnu. Cf. J. Kennedy, "Krishna, etc.," *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, 965 ff.

[28] C. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1867–74, ii. 507; E. Windisch, *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama*, Berlin, 1882; A. Weber, "Die Griechen in Indien," *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1890, 901; Levi, 343 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1908, 226.

[29] Frazer, *Lit. Hist.*, 271 ff., 296 (panorama); J. C. Oman, *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, London, 1899, 80 ff. (modern play of Rama), 85 (Durga Puja of Bengal); Macdonell, 353 ff., 448 (bibliog.); F. Kielhorn, *Bruchstücke Indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere*, Berlin, 1901 (fragments of two plays of the twelfth century inscribed on black slabs. A monarch [Vigraha-raja] is the hero of one and the professed author of the other play.); M. Winternitz, "The Mahabharata and the Drama," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, 571 f.; W. E. A. Axon, "Raja-cekhara and Plautus," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, 1906, xxvii. 23 ff. (dramatic poet c. 900 A. D.); B. C. Mazumdar, "Durga: her Origin and History," *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, 355 ff. (virtually her Puja or worship constitutes a mystery-play of Anaryan origin); V. A. Smith, 316 (three plays of Harsha's reign—seventh century).

Sanskrit is used by kings and other men of distinction, whereas the vernacular Prakrit is the language of all women and of men in humble position. Teeming with lyrical passages and descriptions of nature, the earlier classic plays seem to have been performed in the regal concert-chamber.

The chief dramatist of India is Kalidasa, whose best known work is *Sakuntala,* a play in seven acts, the plot of which is borrowed from the great epic of Hindustan. The beauty of the diction largely atones for the deficiency in action. The "Little Clay Cart" [30] may belong to the sixth century. It has been suggested that a Sanskrit play is more like an English opera than anything else performed in Europe. In both are to be found unexpected flights of fancy, graceful verse, and rollicking fun. There are many other plays as well as farces.

b. Lyric

The hymns or metrical prayers of the *Rigveda* [31] were composed and modified in the course of several centuries. While many of the hymns were specially designed for ritualistic purposes, others came into existence under circumstances altogether different. Some are ascribed to monarchs, others to women, though most are claimed by priestly composers or editors, whose predecessors seem to have been clan-bards gifted above their fellows with the magic of emotive song.

[30] A. W. Ryder, *The Little Clay Cart* (trans.), Cambridge, Mass., 1905. This is the *Mricchakatika.*

[31] There are four collections of Vedas, namely, the *Rigveda* (Veda of "laudatory stanzas," consisting of 1028 hymns arranged in ten books), *Samaveda* (chants based on the former), *Yajurveda* (stanzas mostly from the Rik, mingled with prose formulas), and *Atharvaveda* (chiefly spells). Of these the *Rigveda* for linguistic and other reasons is regarded as the earliest, though individual hymns of the *Atharvaveda* may be of greater antiquity than any hymn in the former collection. It is, of course, a mistake to suppose (W. Caland, *Das Vaitanasutra des Atharvaveda,* Amsterdam, 1910, pp. v, vi.) that the latter work consists entirely of verses from the former. Primarily Veda means knowledge, its derivative meaning being sacred book.

Though the Vedas[32] represent the earliest extant literature of the Aryans, they are by no means to be regarded as primitive efforts. In the first place, the diction of the hymns is not vernacular; it is not a mere perversion of everyday speech like the metric dialect of the Andamanese. It is rather a linguistic medium which has evolved from numberless experiments of prehistoric singers, until one bard after another hit upon the Vedic metres.[33] In the second place, the existence of pre-Vedic lyric is suggested by the inclusion in the *Rigveda* of the incantation, lullaby, riddle, humorous stanza, war song, wedding hymn, and dirge, too artificial in style to be experimental. In the third place, some of the hymns imply a context,[34] which gave point to their phraseology. Lastly, pre-Vedic lyric is directly mentioned in the hymns themselves.[35] The authors of the older part of the *Rigveda* acknowledge earlier composers whose songs they seek to emulate, and they refer to ancestral lyrics of bygone days. In other words, the Vedas represent only such charms and hymns as were deemed worthy of preservation by the priestly families.

Two or three extracts from the Vedas will serve to show the varying literary quality of their contents. The hymn to the Asvins or Twin Horsemen, who are associated with Dawn, runs thus:[36]

[32] R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1889–1901, i. Pref.; Hopkins, 3, 14 ff.; J. Scheftelowitz, *Apokryphen des Rigv.*, Breslau, 1906; M. Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, Cambridge, Mass., 1906; id., *Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908, 12, 20, etc.; K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda im Auswahl*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1907–9 (glossary of first vol. deals with more than the hymn selections of vol. 2.).

[33] J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Göttingen, 1895, i. 281 (accent); E. V. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, Cambridge, 1905, 9, etc. (assumes that irregular lyric metres are early); C. R. Lanman and W. D. Whitney, *Atharva-veda Samhita*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, cxxvi f. (extremely irregular metres are not a sign of greater antiquity).

[34] H. Oldenberg, in *Zeit. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, 1883, 54; 1885, 52; E. Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rigveda und die indische Itihasa-tradition*, Stuttgart, 1902 (endeavours to supply the context with the help of later literature. See especially 1–43).

[35] Macdonell, 31, 45.

[36] *RV.* ii. 39. Hopkins, 38n. The Asvins are more or less analogous to the various divine twins of the Hellenes, such as the Aktorione Molione, the Aphareidae, the Dioskouroi, and the Leukippides.

"Come (ye pair of Asvins) like two horns; like two hoofs; like two geese; like two wheels; like two ships; like two spans;" etc.

Here is an incantation:[37]

Firm is the sky;
Firm is the earth;
Firm, all creation;
Firm, these hills;
Firm the king of the people (shall be), etc.

The Dawn-hymns represent the choicest of Vedic poems. Part of one of them follows.[38]

As comes a bride, hath she drawn near us, gleaming;
All things that live she rouseth now to action.
A fire is born that shines for human beings;
Light hath she made, and driven away the darkness.

Wide-reaching hath she risen, to all approaching,
And shone forth clothed in garments white and glistening;
Of gold her colour, fair is she to look upon,
Mother of kine (clouds), leader of days she gleameth.

O near and dear one, light far off our foes, and
Make safe to us our kine's wide pasture-places.
Keep from us hatred; what is good, that bring us,
And send the singer wealth, O generous maiden.

Thou whom Vasistha's sons extol with praises,
Fair-born Dawn, daughter of Dyaus, the bright one,
On us bestow thou riches high and mighty:
O all ye gods! with weal forever guard us.

[37] *AV.* x. 173. Hopkins, 154. Among Vedic survivals of primitive and barbaric concepts are these: *RV.* i. 32 (cf. conflict between Indra and the Dragon with Semang myth concerning the moon and the python, besides myths of the Besisi, Zunis, Aztecs, Chinese, Babylonians, etc. See C. F. Oldham, *Sun and the Serpent*, London, 1905 [useful though deficient in historical criticism]); i. 50 (cf. sacred number of Zunis, etc.); ii. 7 (cf. Australian and other tribes. See F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, Lond., 1895); ii. 26 (cf. cow-songs of Dinkas, Zulus, etc.); ii. 30 (cf. love-charms of Australia, etc.); iii. 81 (chrematheism—a variation of animism); v. 85 (cf. Maori separation of earth and sky, besides similar tales in America, Africa, and Europe); ix. 41 (souls of the Andamanese and Semang also cross a bridge); x. 10 (oldest of extant Aryan love-stories. Cf. Bab., Egypt and Greece for unusual nature of sex lure); x. 14 (dogs are the only domesticated animals of hunting tribes. Cf. Kerberos, the Cu-sith, etc.); x. 15 (cf. Manes myths in the old world and the new); x. 63 (Dinka and other souls cross a river); *AV.* xix. 39 (cf. Deluge of Andamanese, etc.).

[38] *RV.* vii. 77. Hopkins, 74 f. Cf. Macdonell, 81 ff.

Post-Vedic or Sanskrit and Prakrit lyrics are numerous, as one might expect from the strong lyric undertone of the formal drama. The metres are more elaborate than their Vedic prototypes, and as a rule they are more artistic, the aim being to produce a harmony between metre and sentiment. The later Indo-Aryan lyrics belong chiefly to two classes, erotic and gnomic. Kalidasa, who also excels as a dramatist, is author of the famous "Cloud-Messenger," which consists of a hundred and fifteen stanzas.[39] Gorgeous descriptions of nature form a background for amatory analysis. Many of the lyrics of various poets are single miniature stanzas, displaying an affectation of pessimism, not unlike that of Hebraic and Cantonese love-poetry. The gnomic stanzas are often subtle and epigrammatic, suggestive at times of Japanese lyric.

c. Epic

If we may judge by primitive and barbaric tribal customs in all quarters of the globe, the beginnings of Indo-Aryan epic were partly prose, partly metrical. Be this as it may, it is certain that pre-Vedic epic material was familiar enough among the Aryan warrior-tribes that invaded India in early times. Even the lowliest of hunting tribes have evolved mythic tales in which they portray their crude philosophy, and their theory of the universe finds expression in stories concerning spirits, gods, and heroes.

The Vedas presuppose such narratives, for the Vedic pantheon is evidently built up by the poet-priests out of traditionary myths and legends current among the people.[40] It is unreasonable to fancy that the

[39] S. C. Sarkar, *The Cloud-Messenger*, Calcutta, 1906 (a literal translation). This is the *Meghaduta*. Cf. Macdonell, 335 ff.

[40] *RV.* iii. 23; iii. 33; iii. 53; vii. 33, etc. Cf. Frazer, 211; Macdonell, 280 f., 285; E. W. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, 1, 50, 272, 366 ff., 386; T. W. Rhys Davids, "Metrical Prose in Indian Literature," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, 825; id., *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, 182 ff.; A. B. Keith, "Metre of the Brhaddevata," *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, 2 f.

narratory element in the Vedas is a novel literary phenomenon, absolutely without counterpart in society. Some of the hymns appear to be nothing more than old popular ballads transformed for recitation around the altar. Indeed, narrative lays are distinctly referred to in the literature of the Vedic period.[41]

Sanskrit epic may be divided into traditionary and artificial poetry.[42] The most celebrated of the former class is the *Mahabharata* or "Great Battle of the descendants of Bharata."[43] Based upon preëxistent heroic ballads it includes numerous sagas concerning gods, kings, and others, embedded in much irrelevant matter of a didactic nature. For instance, while two armies are in battle array, the hero Arjuna listens to a philosophical poem in eighteen cantos.[44] The epic contains additions, repetitions, and inconsistencies of thought which are the outcome of many a verse-maker. In spite of a prolixity that would be fatal outside of India or Persia, the poem is still extremely popular among Hindus, partly because of its religious teaching, partly because of the brilliancy of some of its episodes.

The *Ramayana* is by far the most popular, though not the most finished, of the second epic class, and like the *Odyssey* it may be called a romantic poem.[45] Though both of the great Hindu poems are based upon legendary ballads, many phrases of the one being

[41] Macdonell, 119; E. J. Rapson, "In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken Language," *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, 443.

[42] The former is *Itihasa* (legend), *Akhyana* (narrative), or *Purana* (ancient tale); the latter is termed Kavya (court epic).

[43] Oman, 101 ff.; V. Fausboll, *Indian Mythology acc. to the Mahabharata*, London, 1903; P. Deussen, *Vier Philosophische Texte des Mahabharatam*, Leipzig, 1906, 610 (creation of world ascribed to Brahman), trans.; K. Watanabe, "Asvaghosa and the Great Epics," *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, 664.

[44] Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 384; R. Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgita*, Leipzig, 1905 (trans and notes. Advances the theory that the Gita is not originally pantheistic, but theistic.).

[45] Oman, 15ff.; K. Watanabe, "Oldest Record of the Ramayana in a Chinese Buddhist Writing," *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, 99ff. Cf. P. de Lacy Johnstone, *The Raghuvanca*, London, 1903 (trans. in blank verse of Kalidasa's classical epic).

found in the other, they are of independent origin. The poem itself claims to have been recited by professional rhapsodists or chanted to a stringed accompaniment. Rama is the name of a mighty king mentioned even in the *Rigveda*. The first part of the narrative deals with the intrigues of a queen who is eager to have her son placed upon the throne. The second part makes us acquainted with demons, giants, and other marvels dear to the unsophisticated. Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu is adored in India to this day. No Sanskrit poem has exercised a greater influence upon its literary successors and upon ethical standards.[46]

d. Prose

The earliest Indo-Aryan prose is lost, leaving its imprint upon Vedic and oral literature. That pre-Vedic prose existed in the form of mythic and legendary tales can scarcely be doubted, unless we are prepared to assume that the superhuman element in the Vedas was the sole creation of the Vedic poets and priests. Every poet is to some extent a product of his age. If the people are to comprehend his musical message, it must be based upon current traditions, some of which thrive in the guise of folk-stories.

Extant Indo-Aryan prose takes us back to the composition of parts of the *Atharvaveda*, some of whose hymns are wholly or partially unmetrical. Moreover, mingled with the verses of the *Yajurveda* are prose formulas that were employed in the ritual, while the legends lend colour and occasional literary value to the sacrificial commentary.

The prose of the Brahmanas, or "books dealing with prayer," more or less resembles that of the former works, the style being rather awkward and abrupt.

[46] Cf. G. A. Grierson, "Tulasi Dasa," *J. R. A. S.* 1903, 447ff.; B. C. Mazumdar, "On the Bhattikavya," *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, 395ff.

The Brahmanic literature contains explanations of the sacred ceremonies, blended with many myths and legends, historical fragments,[47] metaphysical, etymological and other observations. Much of Brahman prose is distinctly prosaic and uninspiring.

Other specimens of Vedic prose are represented in the Aranyakas or "Forest-portions," intended for study by the elect in the solitude of the jungle.[48] Usually associated with these are the Upanishads, which are in a sense philosophical,[49] while the Sutras in extremely concise form give a bald account of ceremonial rules. All these collections of Vedic prose overlap.

While Vedic prose is chiefly a blend of liturgy and legend, Sanskrit prose attains full vigour in fable, wonder tale, maxim, and romance. Neither the prose of technical works nor that of the epics and plays calls for special discussion.

Surrounded as the Indo-Aryans were by numerous Dravidian tribes, it is not in the least likely that all the fables are of Aryan origin. Admitting that the transmigration theory has been favourable to the growth of the artistic fable, this alone would scarcely account for their wonderful variety. The earliest collection of Hindu fable is Buddhistic. Composed in Pali it is known as the *Jatakas* or "Birth Stories."[50] In the guise of the principal animal of the fable,

[47] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of India,* Bombay, 1900; E. Hardy, *Indiens Kultur in der Blüthezeit des Buddhismus,* Mainz, 1902, A. F. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark, *History of India,* Cuttack, 1904; Major T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan,* Allahabad, 1907; J. F. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.,* 1908, 471 ff.; V. A. Smith, 8 (sources).

[48] A. B. Keith, *Sankhayana Aranyaka,* London, 1908 (appendix discusses the Mahavrata ceremonial with its survivals of earlier nature-worship); id., *Aitareya Aranyaka,* Oxford, 1909. Prof. Deussen and others believe that these works were composed for Brahmans of the third degree, each of whom became a hermit (aranya-vasin) preparatory to the fourth stage of spiritual advancement.

[49] P. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads* (trans.), Edinburgh, 1906. The Aranyakas are concerned mainly with the mystic meaning of the ritual, whereas the Upanishads are essentially theosophic.

[50] E. B. Cowell, et al., *The Jataka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births,* 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895–1907 (translations). For discussion of the date of the collection see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* 189 ff.

Buddha is the hero who directly points the moral and indirectly adorns the tale. The Buddhistic allegorising is, of course, bound to be later than many of the fables.

In order to produce literary unity the Sanskrit collections of fables as well as magic tales are constructed in such a way that each story is but an episode in the main narrative, a device which was borrowed by other Asiatic peoples. The two chief Sanskrit collections are the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadesa,* the former of which is the older and the more important.[51] Ostensibly they are manuals for the instruction of princes in domestic and foreign policy, and they display no little worldly wisdom in a style that is often humorous or ironical. Though apparently of Buddhistic origin, the *Pañcatantra* in its present form is a Brahman recension.

Omitting the metrical narratives there are three prose collections of fairy tales or, more strictly, tales of enchantment. One collection contains seventy stories related by a parrot to a fickle woman, another has twenty-five tales concerning a king and a vampire, and the third comprises thirty-two narratives told by a throne! In spite of their extravagance these wonder-stories are of interest to students of Oriental folklore.[52]

Maxims are numerous in almost all departments of Sanskrit literature, many of them appearing in metrical form. These maxims are of three kinds, though one often shades off into the other. First, there is the popular proverb, based upon experience or upon tradition; second, the philosophical or scientific saying, which makes its first appeal to the trained observer; third, the technical maxim coined in the laboratory of

[51] Cf. J. Hertel, *Ausgewählte Erzahlungen aus Hemacandra's Parisistaparvan,* Leipzig, 1908 (trans. with notes on Jain religion and parallel versions of the fables).

[52] Cf. M. E. Noble, *Cradle Tales of Hinduism,* London, 1907; J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales,* London, 1909 (Jain tales, some of which have European analogues).

the toiler. These forms of ready-made philosophy have been in vogue for many centuries.[53]

The prose romances are classed by the Hindu writers on poetics under Kavya or Court Epic. Largely descriptive, these compositions bristle with long compounds, which mar the occasional charm of the imagery. Dandin's " Adventures of the Ten Princes " is a fair specimen.

3. Egypt

The increasing collection of papyri, in addition to the lithic records, enables us in a measure to articulate the earlier and the later period of ancient Egypt, whose literature outclasses all others that have been produced on the African continent. Writings of the Old Kingdom, composed in simple sentences, are deficient in individuality; those of the Middle Kingdom embrace some classic examples of both prose and verse; those of the Empire are numerous, among them being a notable epopee, besides the oldest love-songs known to literary history.

a. Drama

The exhilarating climate of Egypt bred a cheerful people,[54] who upon festive and ceremonial occasions gave vent to their feelings through music and dancing.[55] Though the theatre seems to have been unknown, the dramatic instincts of the people found out-

[53] Cf. Col. G. A. Jacob, *Laukikanyayanjalih*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1907.

[54] Wright, *Caricature*, 3 ff.; A. Wiedemann, *Popular Literature in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1902, 18 (Lepsius on caricature); J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1905, 91; Maspero, *Ancient Egypt*, 8; Adolf Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1907, 75 (comic beings, half animal and half human). Cf. J. G. Wilkinson, *Egyptians in time of Pharaohs*, London, 1857, 8, 13.

[55] Wilkinson, 9, 14, 19 (instruments), 28 (dancing); W. M. F. Petrie, et al., *History of Egypt*, 6 vols., New York, 1897–1905, i. 155 (women's choral dance), ii. 222 (school of music and dancing); Tipper, *Growth of Music*, 12 f. (Osiris, Apollo and the Muses); Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 126 (sacred ballet), 307 (war-dance and pirouette), 397 f. (dance of the pygmies); F. J. Crowest, *Story of the Art of Music*, New York, 1902, 21 (orchestra); Erman, 121.

let in the processions connected with temple worship and funeral ceremony as well as in the triumphal parade of a victorious king or general.

The religious attitude is usually conservative, and thus it is that in all lands many an ancient custom is preserved long after it has disappeared from the ordinary life of the laity. The face-painting and tattooing of earlier times may be analogous to the periodic god-painting which was carefully performed by the priests. The funerary masks [56] of the wealthy are possibly a survival of masks that may have been employed in the ceremonial dance-drama of prescriptorial days.[57]

Virtually the elaborate ritual of every sanctuary was a sort of liturgic drama. For example, at Abydos the myth concerning Osiris, who was the incarnation of the Nile as well as the ruler of the dead, assumed spectacular form. In a series of dramatic presentations the leading episodes of the god's life, in addition to his passion and resurrection,[58] were annually enacted by priests before the eyes of the people. In certain scenes of the Osirian drama [59] the populace played a part. All or most of the dialogue, recitation, and song was conventional and probably preserved in writing. In short, the people of the lower Nile unwittingly anticipated the pageants and the miracle-plays of medieval Europe.

b. Lyric

The poetry of the Middle Kingdom, more especially

[56] Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 112. 136, 147 (masks); Breasted, 27 (painting and tattooing); Erman, 46 (god-painting), 115 f. (body-painting). The animated statues (*Dawn of Civ.*, 266) possibly constitute an extreme form of the mask.

[57] Cf. H. de Morgan, "Notes sur les stations quaternaires," *Rev. de l'Éc. d'Anthr.*, Paris, 1908, xviii. 133 (paleolithic culture).

[58] Cf. W. Preece, "Egyptians and Celts," *Celtic Review*, Edinburgh, 1904, i. 103 (fanciful). We know very little concerning the beliefs of folk-religion as compared with those of the official temple ecclesiastics.

[59] Breasted, 171, 207; Erman, 50 f., 177. Cf. G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 6th ed., Paris, 1904, 27, 64, 132.

of the Twelfth Dynasty,[60] was regarded by the Egyptians as the criterion for all subsequent periods. Egyptian lyric [61] comprises labour ditties, incantations, lays of the harpers, love songs, hymns and laments. In quality it varies from the unadorned simplicity of the folk-song to the intricate splendour of a hymn like that addressed to Usertesen III or to Aton. The sacerdotal spells and the hymns are by far the most numerous, the former being presumably the earlier literary type. Both classes of verse are often wearisome by reason of the iteration of hackneyed phrases, though there are several hymns of distinction. Of the six strophes that make up the hymn in honour of Usertesen III, a portion of one must suffice to illustrate the style.[62]

Twice great is the monarch of his city, above a million arms;
As for other rulers of men, they are but common.
Twice great is the monarch of his city;
A dyke is he, damming the stream in its flow.
Twice great is the monarch of his city;
A cool lodge is he, giving repose to all until daylight.
Twice great is the monarch of his city;
A bulwark is he, with walls built of Kesem's sharp stones.
Twice great is the monarch of his city;
A place of refuge is he, excluding the marauder.

The love songs breathe the atmosphere of the Orient. In apt imagery they portray the sensuous rather than the spiritual aspect of affection. Two typical specimens, written in the Eighteenth Dynasty, run thus: [63]

[60] Egyptologists are not agreed as to date. According to Dr. Petrie the Twelfth Dynasty extends from about 2778 to 2565 B. C., whereas Dr. Breasted's dates are 2000 to 1788 B. C.

[61] G. Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, Paris, 1868; id., *Études Égyptiennes*, Paris, i. 221 (love songs); F. Ll. Griffith, "Egyptian Literature," *Library of the World's Best Literature*, 30 vols., New York, 1896–97, ix. 5300 (songs of workmen), 5301 (love songs), 5303 (hymns), 5316 (songs to the harp); A. E. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1901, (spells, etc.); Wiedemann, *Pop. Lit.*, 4 ff.; Petrie, ii. 215, etc.; Erman, 33 (lament of Isis), 82 (new type of hymn), 158 (spells).

[62] Petrie, i. 182 ("stanza after stanza of ten lines;"); Griffith, 5303 ("found by Petrie." Exhibits "parallelism of sentences" and "balancing of the lines"); Breasted, 207 ("rigid strophic structure and all the conscious artificialities of literary art"). Cf. G. M. Ebers, in *Zeit. f. aegyptische Sprache u. Alterthumsk.*, xv. 43 (rime and alliteration).

[63] Griffith, 5301; Wiedemann, *Pop. Lit.*, 9. Cf. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, i. 228, 232 f.; W. M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1899.

THE PATIENT

I will lay me down in my shelter;
Sick shall I be with grief.
Here come my neighbours to visit me.

There cometh my beloved along with them;
She putteth the physicians to scorn,
For she knoweth my malady.

THE FOWLER

The voice of the wild goose calleth,
"She hath taken the bait;"
But thy love restraineth me,
And loose it I cannot.

I must fold my net together.
What then shall I say to *my* mother,
To whom I come daily
Laden with wild fowl?

I have not spread my net to-day;
Thy love hath ensnared me.
Loose the bird from the net
And carry it home to *her* mother.

c. EPIC

Besides the metrical oracles or prophecies,[64] there are heroic poems such as the one that celebrates the Asiatic triumphs of Merenptah. In this poem occurs the earliest known reference to Israel.[65] The Kadesh epic, composed by one of the court poets in honour of Merenptah's father, is the best example of Egyptian narrative verse. Though it is not sufficiently sustained to be considered a great epic, yet it contains some spirited passages. The poem narrates some episodes connected with the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes. In the course of the struggle Ramses II displayed unusual valour against the Hittites and their allies. The following brief extract, depicting the

[64] Breasted, 204; Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 72, 143.
[65] Petrie, iii. 113 ff.; Breasted, 447, 470 ff.; O. A. Toffteen, *The Historic Exodus*, Chicago, 1909.

terror of the foe, may indicate the character of the poem:[66]

One to another was crying out and saying,
"Never a mortal like this, the which is among us;
It is Sutekh great of might; it is Baal in the flesh.
Never did man perform deeds like this—
The one alone terrifies the multitudes,
And never a chief is with him, never a soldier.
Come, hasten, let us save ourselves from him;
Seek we for us the life, to breathe the breath.
Behold thou! all who meet him fall powerless;
His hand is upon all their limbs;
They know not how to grasp the bow,
Nor the spear likewise."
When he saw them come to the junction of the roads,
His Majesty was behind them like a gryphon.
He kept on slaying among them; they escaped him not.
He shouted to soldiers and to charioteers, saying,
"Steady yourselves! steady your hearts!
My soldiers and my chariots;
Behold ye these my mighty acts;
I am alone, and it is Amen who sustains me;
His hand is toward me."

His Majesty then advanced rapidly;
He arose and pierced through the enemy;
Six times he penetrated in among them.
He was like Baal behind them in time of power;
He was slaying among them, none escaping him.

d. Prose

Naturally as Egypt advanced in civilisation the priests began to give new interpretations to the prehistoric myths. The labours of the priests failed, however, to reduce the manifold local as well as alien[67] myths to a plane of consistent national thought. The other world does not reveal itself to reason alone. In reducing discordant doctrines to harmony something must be discarded. There must be a compromise, but

[66] Petrie, iii. 55 ff. Cf. *Revue Egyptol.*, iii. 151.

[67] W. M. F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898 (intro.); E. Naville, "The Origin of Egyptian Civilisation," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, London, 1907, xxxvii. 201 ff.; B. Oetteking, "Kraniologische Studien an Alt-Aegyptern," *Korr.-Bl. d. D. Gesell. f. Anthr.*, Braunschweig, 1907, xxxviii. 124 ff.; V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, "I crani Egiziani del Museo Civico di Milano," *A. p. l'Antrop.*, Firenze, 1907, xxxvii. 390 ff.

every compromise involves loss as well as gain, and who knows what cardinal doctrine might be lost? Tolerance was therefore cherished in Egypt, partly because the national temperament was not inclined to be morose, and partly because the people wished to make sure of the best that lay in the future. Better to worship many gods than too few, for what mortal is omniscient?

It was this genial, though unphilosophic, attitude that encouraged the survival of both primitive and barbaric customs in one guise or another. Like the Australian and other primitive tribes of the present day the ancient Egyptians did not believe that death was as natural as life. Death was always homicide through the agency of men, beasts, ghosts, or demons. Hence arose the need for amulets [68] and incantations against illness and death. It was the tolerant attitude of Egypt that was also in a measure responsible for the persistence of mythic creatures, half human and half animal, which are possible transformations of prehistoric totemism. Other survivals of either primitive or barbaric days [69] are evident enough to every careful student.

Besides technical texts, proverbs, biography and

[68] Wiedemann, *Egyptian Dead*, 23 (scarab as emblem of the Morning Sun and symbol of the resurrection); Petrie, i. 106, 113, etc.; Breasted, 249 (sacred beetle inscribed with a charm), 329 (scarabs as medals); Newberry, *Scarabs*, (as personal seals or signets); Erman, 143 (heart scarabs), 144 (scarabs and other amulets).

[69] Petrie, i. 198 (cf. matriarchy among the Seri); Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.*, 140 (cf. Maori account of separation of Earth and Sky), 158 (brute-like ancestors); J. von Negelein, "Der Individualismus in Ahnencult," *Zeit f. Ethn.*, Berlin, 1902, xxxiv. 49 ff.; C. Lejeune, "Le Culte des morts au XX. siecle," *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.*, Paris, 1902, iii. 97 ff. (modern survivals); Wiedemann, *Egypt. Dead*, 14 (death unnatural. We still speak of an "attack" of fever, etc.), 24 (cf. baboon or cynocephalus in Kwai mythology and the snake of the Semang), 25 (snake comparable in vitality to Zulu ogress. Tribal underworld like Sheol and Hades), 27 (cf. Semang otherworld), 29 (cf. sun-rope myth of Oceania and Besisiland), 36 (cf. second burial of the Andamanese and other tribes); H. Schack-Schackenborg, *Das Buch von den zwei Wegen des seligen Toten*, Leipzig, 1904 (songs, words, and spells for either the land or the water route of the dead); E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols., London, 1904 ("innate conservatism of the Egyptians in all ages"); Erman, 90 (cf. the apologetic ceremonies of the Eskimo), 100 (cf. Andamanese and Zulu metamorphosis), 134 (cf. Eskimo mortuary festivals), 154 (cf. Fuegian belief in the potency of names).

history, ancient Egyptian prose includes myths, legends, fairy tales, fables, letters, and romantic fiction.[70] It was the Middle Kingdom that saw the golden age of Pharaonic prose, though the style is less natural that in imperial times. The historical records exhibit greater ease, and for the first time attempts are made to depict character. On the whole it was a time of national prosperity that found expression in permanent form through architecture, sculpture, and written literature. Not until the reign of Ramses the Great do the scribes again become so much interested in recording the literature of entertainment. The short story is usually a tale of either travel or enchantment, with a plot that is comparatively simple.

The story of the Doomed Prince is too long for quotation, but an outline of it may indicate the plot of a Pharaonic tale of magic. At the birth of our hero the seven Hathors, who enact the part of our fairies, predict his death by the agency of a crocodile, a snake, or a dog. Most carefully his father guards him during childhood and youth, until wearying of restriction the young man sets out in quest of adventure. Posing as the son of an Egyptian officer, our hero climbs a tower in which King Naharin's daughter is confined. Though the young man has shown wonderful nerve and courage, the king threatens him with death if he dares to wed the princess. Finally he wins the hand of the Syrian maiden. Through the watchfulness of his bride he is saved from a snake, while a

[70] K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 6 vols., Berlin, 1849–58, ii. 107, etc.; W. M. Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 1st and 2nd series, London, 1893–95; id., *History*, ii. 261 (letters); G. Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1899; F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, London, 1900; Wiedemann, *Pop. Lit.*, 3 (fairy tales and legends), 16 (fables); E. Revillout, *Précis du Droit Égyptien, comparé aux autres Droits de l'Antiquité*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903; Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, 1904, 83 ff. ("pendant la periode memphite"); E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, 3 vols., London, 1906 (contains texts of the Book of *Am-Tuat* and the Book of the Gates); J. H. Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1908, 100 (prose of the Old Kingdom), 166 (of the Middle Kingdom), 320 (of the Empire; "the Doomed Prince," etc.).

giant is appointed to be on the alert against a treacherous crocodile. The reptile eludes the giant and attacks the prince, who is rescued not a moment too soon. His dog has followed him from Egypt. Does the faithful dog become the unwitting agent of Fate? We are left in suspense, for the text breaks off at this point in the narrative.

4. Greece

Homeric Greece is as definitely monarchical[71] as Olympus, and it is with the literature of this period that we are here concerned. The most exalted of the Homeric kings is Agamemnon, whose sway extends over Corinth, Mycenae[72] and Argos. It is true, of course, that the rule of an Agamemnon is less autocratic than that of the average Pharaoh. Both hold an office that is hereditary, but the latter is a deity incarnate, whereas the former is merely of divine descent.

a. Drama

Greece is not a land of tropical luxuriance. Both soil and climate tend to call forth bodily and mental activity. Entering Greece from some prehistoric motherland, the Hellenes possessed a temperament that was deeply impressed by the serenity of the hills and the versatility of the sea-waves. It is the majesty of Mt. Olympus and the changing glamour of Poseidon's realm that furnish a background of beauty and significance to the oldest extant masterpieces of Europe.

[71] Thucydides, i. 13, 1; Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 2, 6; A. Fanta, *Der Staat in der Ilias und Odyssee*, Innsbruck, 1882, 49, etc.; Jebb, *Homer*, 46 ff.; W. W. Fowler, *City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, London, 1904, 67ff.; G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1907, 129 f.; T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York, 1908, 78, 86 (absolute power). Cf. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'Épopée Homérique*, Paris, 1899.

[72] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias and Other Greek Sketches*, London, 1900, 242 ff.; W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901, i. 337 ff. (believes that the Homeric Achaeans came from the north and mingled with the Mycenaean people); V. Berard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, Paris, 1902–3, i. 11 f.; H. C. Tolman and G. C. Scoggin, *Mycenaean Troy*, New York, 1903, 87ff.

Who can tell to what extent the same influences were unconsciously at work in helping to shape the tragic and comic strivings of pre-Homeric centuries? What is definitely known is that hundreds of years before the formal drama of Athens came into existence, Hellenic society found leisure to express itself dramatically through sacred and secular festivals.

It is difficult to reconstruct the earliest drama of Greece or of any country, but dramatic art, like every other, certainly sprang from lowly beginnings. There is no valid reason for supposing that heroic poetry represents the earliest form of Hellenic literary effort, and there is as little reason for assuming that the epos represents the sole literary phenomenon of the Homeric age. Though the records are fragmentary, within certain limits they are conclusive.

It is undeniable that in all lands the people have festive celebrations whose ancestry is older than that of the oldest literary memorials. The primeval feast, which was doubtless nothing more than the gregarious consummation of the food-quest, gave birth to the impromptu choric dance of communal exaltation. The festival, exalted and regulated by its association with the bread-giving gods, maintained itself through tribal and national vicissitudes, whereas literary records are subsequent to ages of oral tradition.

In Greece upon festive occasions the shrine of every local cult, with its impressive ritual, was virtually a nascent theatre. What were the Mysteries but a sort of esoteric drama of the same general type as those of the Zuñi and other cibicultural tribes? In the Eleusinian Mysteries, for instance, the Mother of Corn and the Maid, the earth and the young corn, were represented in action.[73] Again, the dramaturgic framework of the Dionysiac cult included dance and song in honour of the vine-god. It was this dance-song that

[73] Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, iii. 33, 42 ff.

was known as the dithyramb[74] proper. When episodic improvisation, whether by priest or by musical director, began to fill the pause during which choral dancers were resting, histrionic art was not far distant. Put expressiveness or self-abandon into the interlude, and the actor dominates the situation.

That Homer[75] is not unaware of some sort of drama is shown by his style, which is distinctly dramatic. About half of the verses are in the form of speeches, although epic is narratory. The characters unfold the plot, while the poet directly narrates only what he deems necessary. Again, while it is true that Homer has nothing to say concerning the Mysteries, it does not follow that they are unknown. The epics are not volumes of an encyclopedia. Even to this day wise men usually avoid discussion of certain matters of whose existence everyone is aware. Homer alludes to Demeter[76] and Dionysos, each of whom stands for ideas that date back to primitive animism, though neither of them ranks with Zeus. Furthermore, the poet brings out the fact that the feast, which was generally held by day, was the chief part of wedding and funeral ceremonies. Even in the cantillation, and swaying, and conversation of the wedding and funeral, emotion is finding itself in dramatic action. The gods prefer feast, song, and dance[77] to fasting and prayer. Besides the vintage festivals, marriage feasts, and other public gatherings at which the young men and

[74] R. C. Jebb, *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, Boston, U. S. A., 1893, 157 f.; Walter Pater, *Greek Studies*, New York, 1895, 18 (dithyrambic rhythm); Murray, *Greek Lit.*, 63, 98, 99 (goat-song or tragedy); Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, 6, 292 (horse-like Sileni and goat choruses); Mahaffy, i. Pt. 1, 15; Pt. 2, 3, 9. Cf. H. F. Talbot, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, viii. 296. The Scots Gaelic *uraisg* is half man, half goat.

[75] This is a convenient synonym for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, though its use does not imply that the whole of both or of either is the work of one man. Indeed some maintain that each is the product of conscious as well as unconscious modification active enough for centuries.

[76] Cf. L. R. Farnell, in *Anthrop. Essays*, Oxford, 1907, 90 (the horse-headed Demeter as well as the "aniconic cults"); R. Herzog, "Aus dem Asklepion von Kos," *A. f. Religsw.*, 1907, x. 201, 400.

[77] Greek dancing includes "steps, gestures, attitudes and the various resources of rhythmical movements." Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, i. 5, ii. 3; Butcher, 139; Haigh, 311 f.; Seymour, 137, etc.

maidens dance to the sound of flutes and lyres, there is the periodic festival of Apollo.[78] If these casual details, not to speak of Thersites the buffoon, do not clearly indicate the existence of Homeric drama, at least they point to an abundance of dramaturgic material. They further suggest that the histrionic instinct was by no means dormant, though apparently overshadowed by the passion for heroic composition.

In short, anthropology and literary criticism, with important reservations, confirm the genetic theory of Aristotle:[79] "Tragedy as well as comedy was at first mere improvisation. Tragedy advanced by slow degrees. It was not till late that the short plot was discarded for one of greater compass, and the grotesque diction of the earlier satyric form for the stately manner of Tragedy. Once dialogue had come in, Nature herself discovered the appropriate measure."

b. Lyric

Impersonal or objective poetry was at one time sung to the lyre, but that did not make it lyric in the modern sense of the term. Personal or subjective poetry is often unsung to a lyre or any other instrument, yet it is called lyric. The common use of the word lyric is therefore rather inaccurate, although conventional definition prevents misunderstanding.

Apart altogether from the hints offered by the Homeric hymns,[80] what evidence favours the view that Hellenic lyric poetry antedates the work of Homer? If the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* be accepted as competent witnesses, pre-Homeric lyric comprised war-chants, nature songs, labour songs, wedding hymns, and dirges.

[78] Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 103, 163, 190, 194 f.

[79] *Poetics*, iv. 12, 14 (extracts). Cf. Mahaffy, i. Pt. 2, 3 (cites Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Heracles*, i. 78). Cf. Prof. W. Ridgeway's tomb-theory of the origin of tragedy, cited by Murray, *Greek Epic*, 246.

[80] F. B. Jevons, *History of Greek Literature*, New York, 1886, 69 ff.; Jebb, *Homer*, 86; Murray, *Greek Lit.*, 49; J. A. Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., London, 1902, i. 276 ff.; Mahaffy, i. Pt. 1, 4, 8 ff.

The silence concerning lullabies, children's songs, and other varieties of popular verse is, of course, not to be misinterpreted.

Among choral songs [81] are the paean chanted by the young Achaean warriors in honour of Apollo, the wedding hymn sung during the procession of the bride to her new home, the duet of the Sirens, and the warriors' lament upon the demise of Patroclus, captive women wailing beside the bier. Among the solos [82] are the Linos at a vintage festival, the song of Circe as she plies her loom, and the successive laments of Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen.

Thus it is manifest that lyric antedates Homeric epic, although it failed to attain its highest artistic blossom until social conditions were more favourable. In the heroic age, when the epos reached the summit of brilliancy, aristocratic courts formed centres of encouragement for versified hero-worship. Many of the most gifted minds were caught by the halo of bygone days. It was the overthrow or diminution of autocracy, besides colonial and commercial enterprise, that in later years focussed attention mainly upon the present, whose manifold activities and self-reliance found their most exalted expression in artistic lyric. Men ever follow the dominant vision of the soul.

c. Epic

It is hardly necessary to submit selections from poems with which every well-trained schoolboy has some acquaintance. Everyone admits that both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* bear witness directly [83] and indirectly that

[81] *Il.*, i. 458, 472 (pæan); xviii. 491 (hymeneal); *Od.*, xii. 183 (Sirens); *Il.*, xviii. 339 (funeral of Patroclus. For similar improvised ululations of women cf. the Highland coronach, the Irish keen, the Corsican vocero, and parallel phenomena among the Seri and other tribes); *Od.*, xxiv. 59 ff. (funeral of Achilles).

[82] *Il.*, xviii. 569 (a nature song, really a species of Threnos accompanied by the dance); *Od.*, x. 221 (Circe); *Il.*, xxiv. 709 (Andromache, etc.).

[83] *Il.*, ii. 597 (Thamyris); viii. 363 (Heracles); ix. 189 (Achilles), 529 (Calydonian); *Od.*, i. 326 (Return); iii. 267; viii. 73, 500 (Demodocus); xi. 368; xii. 70 (Argonautic); xvii. 518; xxi. 406; xxii. 347 (Phemius).

they are by no means the earliest of Greek heroic poems. The former alludes to the Thracian poet Thamyris, who believed that in a singing contest he could vanquish the Muses, goddesses of memory or record. The same epic also refers to the legendary lays concerning Heracles, to Achilles chanting of the glories of heroes, and to the metrical narrative of the Calydonian Hunt. Besides several statements concerning the court minstrels Phemius and Demodocus as well as nameless others, the *Odyssey* mentions heroic ballads whose themes are the Achaean Return and the Argonautic Expedition.

In addition to the foregoing direct testimony the very diction of the Homeric poems, far removed as it is from the vernacular, points to the fact that they are in no sense primitive. No doubt, in Homeric civilisation as in ours, there are traces of the primitive and barbaric stages[84] of social evolution, but the artistic use of such material is surely no sign of a lowly culture. Although many of the Homeric verses may have been composed a millennium prior to this era, the stately hexameter with its graceful and flexible

[84] *Il.*, i. 63, etc. (cf. dream lore of the Vedda, Zulu, and Ainu tribes); i. 69, etc. (cf. Wanyamwezi vision of witch-doctor), i. 404, etc. (cf. sacred language of Eskimo, Maori, and Todas); vi. 179 (cf. similar animistic survivals in Babylonia, India, and Egypt); viii. 170, etc. (sacred number, 3 and 3 square. Cf. xvi. 784 and *Od.*, ix. 65. See also Murray, *Greek Epic*, 127.); ix. 534 (cf. Bab., Ind., and Eg.); xviii. 418 (cf. animated statues of Egypt and of European apostolic legend); xix. 417 (at one time all Kwai and Cherokee animals could speak); xx. 8 (cf. river-spirits of the Ainu); xxi. 147 (cf. Saravasti and Nile); xxiii. 175 (cf. Bab., Ind., and Eg.); xxiii. 258 (cf. Andamanese funerary games); xxiv. 320, etc. (cf. Dinka and Maori mythic birds. See also E. W. Martin, "Notes on the Birds of Ovid," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 1905, xxxvi. p. lxvi.).

Od., viii. 271, 302 (cf. occasional irrational ethics among Australian, Besisi, and other tribes); ix. 106 (cf. Fuegian Hanuch whose eye is behind); x. 236 (cf. Andamanese and other transformations); xi. 37 (cf. Australian and Vedda necromancy. See also R. Wunsch, "Griechischer und germanischer Geisterglaube," *Hess Bl. f. Volksk.*, Leipzig, 1903, ii. 177 ff.); xi. 48, 147 (Eskimo ghosts also eat and drink); xii. 382 (cf. the Andamanese caterpillar myth as well as the Dinka heavenly cattle); xvii. 485 (cf. Protean myths of the Semang, Eskimo, Zulus, etc.); xix. 457 (cf. Vedda incantations).

In a communication from Sir R. C. Jebb, the suggestion is made that the conception of Scylla (*Od.*, xii. 85) is that of an alien maritime people. In his judgment both Briareus (*Il.*, i. 403f.) and Scylla may be garbled or mythic representations of the octopus. Cf. the Seri totemic turtle and the Ainu earthquake trout.

content is no metrical experiment. The laws of the epos are already fixed.

So many thousands of critics have given literary estimates of the poems that it may be sufficient to cite what Jebb considers to be one of the most beautiful similes in Homer:[85]

> As from an island city, seen afar,
> The smoke goes up to heaven, when foes besiege;
> And all day long in grievous battle strive
> The leaguered townsmen from their city wall:
> But soon, at set of sun, blaze after blaze,
> Flame forth the beacon-fires, and high the glare
> Shoots up, for all that dwell around to see,
> That they may come with ships to aid their stress:
> Such light blazed heavenward from Achilles' head.

Until the rise of a government responsive to the will of the people, idealism is nowhere so firmly based upon a knowledge of human nature as in these epics of war and of romance. In spite of the limitations that belong to the work of all mortals, it is safe to affirm that Homer represents the highest development of autocratic literature as well as the climax of epic symmetry.

d. Prose

In oral form prose was doubtless common enough in Homeric times. Many a myth and legend and fable must have been told upon winter evenings, in a style that was probably more or less conventional. Be this as it may, it is on stone and bronze that the earliest specimens of extant Greek prose are inscribed, because less durable materials have perished. No doubt if we could obtain the earliest records, they would show statements that were deemed so sacred or of such interest to the commonwealth that they could not be trusted to the memory and imagination of the narrative poets.

[85] *Il.*, xviii. 207. Cf. Jebb, *Homer*, 27.

Whether writing was or was not practised in the Homeric age,[86] it was not until the sixth century B. C. that prose in the conventional literary sense began to be noticed. The orator could reach the public in the assembly, the epic poet or the rhapsodist through recitations before an aristocratic audience, and the lyric composer through festive gatherings, but why should a philosopher or historian try to compose in formal prose until the public had acquired the art of reading? Private notes would amply sustain his memory.

Homer seems to hint at two forms of prose, letter-writing[87] and oratory. If we may judge by the speeches recorded in hexameter and especially by the Homeric epithets applied to some of the speakers, oratory[88] was an art that led to high distinction. Indeed, the people appear to have regarded a man of unusual eloquence as a god.

[86] Jebb, *Homer*, 69, 112 ff.; M. Breal, *Pour mieux connaitre Homère*, Paris, 1906, 7 ff.; Murray, *Greek Epic*, 91, 94; Seymour, 35; Mahaffy, i. Pt. 1, 26f.; ii. Pt. 1, 3, 7. Cf. A. J. Evans, "Primitive Pictographs," *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1894, 270 ff.; W. N. Bates, "Early Greek Alphabets in the Light of Recent Discoveries in Egypt," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 1901, xxxii. p. lxxvi.

[87] *Il.*, vi. 169.

[88] *Il.*, i. 249, 490; ii. 284; iii. 150; ix. 225 ff., 441; *Od.*, viii. 173. In its earliest form the Greek saga may have been a rhythmical prose analogous to that of the Eskimo tribes, blended with choric dancing.

CHAPTER XIX

SIGNIFICANCE OF AUTOCRATIC DATA

It is evident, of course, that norms fit to be called literary do eventuate in the lower civilisations. These norms, however, on becoming integrals of a higher civilisation, undergo transformation. They are embedded, surviving characteristically in cases where they have not been wholly transformed. It seems scarcely necessary to extend our review of the literature produced under autocratic auspices by including that of other nations, ancient and modern. The literature of China, Persia, and Turkey is not essentially different in motive from that of Babylonia and India, while some of the more conspicuous elements in the letters of the Roman Empire and of Russia are in direct descent from Greece. Though it is safe to affirm that the literary activities of Babylonia, Aryan India, Egypt, and Homeric Greece were to a certain degree independent, it is also beyond reasonable doubt that there were conscious as well as unconscious borrowings among the four, the character and extent of which have not yet been definitely determined. At all events we appear to have data sufficiently diverse and complete to justify a tentative outline of the autocratic or third stage in the evolution of literature.

a. Drama

For genetic reasons puppet and shadow plays were discussed in the fifteenth chapter under Barbaric Dance and Drama. This section of the present chapter is apparently the logical place in which to consider the literary masque, leaving the regular drama for rapid

review under democratic data. We shall see that the masque is virtually an aristocratic species. It attains its highest literary significance under monarchs, some of whom, misunderstanding "the divine right of kings," were distinctly autocratic.

In tracing the evolution of the effigy play we had occasion to note that the masque has its origin in the face-painting which was linked with the primitive choral dance, a custom already observed among tribal survivals in early Egypt. Gradually this custom with its more elaborate variations was supplanted by the wearing of animal headdresses, a survival of which may be preserved in certain parts of the mythology of Babylonia, India, Egypt, and Greece as well as in the semi-human figures of sculpture. Finally came dance-masks like those of the Eskimo and the Zuñis. Such phenomena appear to be among tribal forerunners of both the effigy play and the literary masque.

Since it is evident that under autocratic governments have evolved a variety and a quality of literary products superior to all tribal predecessors, we are prepared to expect a higher type of mimetic and scenic art. Autocratic communities afford greater opportunity for pageantry, which finds an outlet in the splendour of courtly and liturgic ceremonial. The Babylonian monarch may at times wear the disguise of a slave, but he is merely playing a leading part in a sort of carnival. The Indo-Aryan vidushaka may be disguised as a Brahman, but his action on the stage is nothing more than a good-natured humanisation of the sacred Hindu caste. The effigy of an Egyptian god may be only an unconscious survival and variation of bygone popular custom, ancient and therefore venerable. The old comic actor of Greece may smear his face with wine in lieu of paint, but he is simply vivifying what had formerly been an act of symbolic homage to Dionysos. Alongside such customs exists

a more exalted, if less obvious, form of autocratic masking or disguising. Kings and priests habitually pose as the vicegerents or the descendants or even the incarnations of national deities. These dignitaries embody the dramatic principle of imitation or disguise, a principle whose most poetic and spectacular outcome is the literary masque.

It would be idle to speculate concerning the time when Greek masks were invented. Some scholars maintain, however, that the face-mask was in existence long before it was employed in the theatre.[1] Perhaps the nearest classical approach to the modern masques were the *Atellanae,* which were performed by young nobles, wearing masks. Nevertheless it was not by a few aristocrats but by the whole people that the earliest masks at certain seasons were worn. Audience and actors were originally one.

Christmas Mummings

It seems reasonably certain that some Christmas customs were borrowed from the old Roman Kalends.[2] From 45 B. C. the January Kalends marked the beginning of the Roman year. Instead of arousing hostility by trying to abolish ancient folk-customs, the Christian teachers wisely strove to give them a new meaning. From the second century it was customary to celebrate the Nativity, but there was no uniformity in the period of its observance. About the fourth century December 25 was chosen as the day of celebration, a date which fitted into the solstice of the Julian calendar.[3] Around it other festivals, old and

[1] Haigh, 238, 242.

[2] A. Tille, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht,* Leipzig, 1893, 112, 286; G. Tille, *Yule and Christmas,* 84. In later years some of the Christians celebrated this date as the birthtime of Christ. Cf. A. von Domaszewski, "Die Festcyclen des römischen Kalenders," *A. f. Religsw.,* Leipzig, 1907, x. 333 ff.

[3] L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte chrétien,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1898, 247; F. C. Conybeare, "History of Christmas," *Journ. Amer. Theol.,* 1899, iii. 1; F. Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra,* Chicago, 1903, 191.

new, began to gather. Sternly the church Fathers often rebuked the revelry common at both the Saturnalia and the Kalends. At the latter festival men paraded the city disguised in beast skins or women's clothes, but all such practices were forbidden to professing Christians from the second century onward.[4]

Early European Masks

In the fourth century the masks of the Atellan farce are still in vogue, and Augustine comments upon certain litanies as having a resemblance to the pantomimic performance.[5] At the beginning of the sixth century the masks of the Hellenic stage continue to be familiar enough, and about the same time the spectacular life of Hellenistic Antioch includes "false faces" during the triennial carnival.[6] In the hope of inducing Christians to forsake the pagan theatre, the church begins to permit dramatic features in public worship. Some, however, mistake liberty for license. In the eighth century the ecclesiastics prohibit maskings in mimicry of beasts and beast-gods.[7] In the following century the Emperor Michael III and a band of noisy revellers profane the church at Constantinople by disguising themselves in the sacred vestments.[8]

Feast of Fools

The Feast of Fools, first definitely mentioned in the twelfth century, was a form of New Year revelry indulged in by the inferior clergy of medieval times.[9]

[4] Chambers, ii. 290 (a scholarly synopsis of prohibitions from Tertullian down to the eleventh century).

[5] Tunison, 53, 265.

[6] *Ibid.*, 89, 94.

[7] Chambers, i. 330. It was alleged that the liturgy of Arius (4th cent.) included arrangements for a pantomimic dance in memory of the Crucifixion. Later Hippodrome dancers performed in church.

[8] E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. by J. B. Bury), 7 vols., London, 1897–1900, v. 201.

[9] E. P. Evans, 265; Chambers, i. 274ff.; C. M. Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers*, New York, 1907, 48; Tunison, 56f. (avers that it virtually originated in the tenth century at Constantinople).

The subdeacons donned the vestments of the higher clergy, and indulged in a burlesque of the usual church ceremonies. In France these performances were attended by a rabble of the laity wearing masks or with faces blackened. It was against the ludicrous masks that the ire of the church councils seems to have been mainly directed. In the twelfth century the lower clergy were denounced for wearing masks and entering the church at Christmas and Candlemas in bestial and other disguises. In the year 1207 Pope Innocent III issued a decree against masks and theatrical plays in certain Polish churches, especially during Christmas feasts.[10]

Allegorical Drama

In the thirteenth century Manuel Phile wrote heavy allegorical dramas as a compliment to his imperial patrons,[11] and some of his plays may be regarded as the earliest unconscious efforts toward the literary masque. One of his poems indicates that masks were still worn on the stage, a custom characteristic of the Byzantine stage until about the dawn of the fifteenth century.

English Disguisings

About the year 1220 there was a histrionic representation of the Ascension by masked performers in the churchyard of St. John's, Beverley. In 1334 the city fathers of London tried to stop the custom of going about the streets at Christmas in disguise, and in 1418 it was proclaimed that no one should walk by night in any kind of mumming, plays, interludes, or other disguisings with false beards, painted visors, or coloured visages.[12] At the court revels or enter-

[10] Chambers, i. 328, etc. The Boy Bishop and the Feast of Asses are analogous dramatic travesties.

[11] Tunison, 111, 262.

[12] H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life*, London, 1868, 193, 669; C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, New York, 1903, p. xix.

tainments of the Christmas of 1347, masks were used, which are referred to as "viseres" in the likeness of men, women, and angels, with costumes representing dragons, peacocks, and swans.[13] It is pretty certain that the allusion is not to a drama but to a mask dance or dumb show, such as was performed on the continent.

Lydgate's Disguising

Gradually the court maskings incorporated literary material. John Lydgate wrote verses as a prologue for disguisings that took place before Henry VI and before the lord mayor of London.[14] As the disguisings began to reach maturity, in the northern and southern kingdoms they included songs as well as spoken words that at first were doubtless impromptu.[15]

Italian Influence

The various mummings presented before royalty are merely elaborations of folk-customs that can be traced back to early magic and religion. In 1513 Henry VIII and eleven others were disguised "after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in England."[16] The novelty indicated seems to refer to costumes or some other minor detail.[17] There was certainly nothing new about it as a form of entertainment. It was after this that mumming and disguising began to die out as terms for the court plays,

[13] J. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, London, 1833, 160; *Archaeologia*, xxxi. 37, 43.

[14] E. P. Hammond, "Lydgate's Mumming at Hereford," *Anglia*, 1899, xxii. 364; Brotanek, 305f.

[15] J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry in the Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1879, i. 38; T. Dickson and Sir J. B. Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 3 vols., London, 1877–1901, i. 79, 239; ii. 71, etc.; Chambers, i. 398.

[16] E. Hall, *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York* (1548). Ed. by H. Ellis, London, 1809, 526.

[17] G. Soergel, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, Halle, 1882, 13; H. A. Evans, *Eng. Masques*, p. xxi.; A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., London, 1899, i. 150; Brotanek, 64 ff., 283 (French analogues); Chambers, i. 401 f.; J. W. Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes of the Masque and Dumb Show," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1907, xxii. 140 ff.

and all visor entertainments came to be called maskelings or masks until the time of Jonson.[18]

Mask and Drama

It was inevitable that the regular drama should influence the mask, which was often a sequel to the morality play or the interlude. Partly by reason of its traditional features the mask served to relieve the occasional tiresomeness of the morality. Indeed the spirited mask came to be sandwiched between the beginning and the end of the morality play, as a result of which the mask caught some of the characteristics of its new companion. In lieu of the old stock figures, classical deities as well as personified virtues and vices began to make their appearance. On the other hand, the mask was giving new colour to the drama.[19] Stagecraft became more elaborate, and masking often enlivened an episode or underlay an entire play.

Masque

It has already been observed that Lydgate wrote verses for the mask, and probably Sir David Lyndsay had considerable experience in the construction of farces and masks before he composed his drama in 1535.[20] Early in the sixteenth century the court entertainment had for the first time been called a mask, the Anglicised form of the French *masque* (face-mask), but in later years the French spelling came into vogue and is useful in marking the crest of this art-wave. France had a splendid nucleus of folk-drama, but from Italy she borrowed the external features of the

[18] H. A. Evans, pp. xix, xxix; Chambers, i. 402 ("The early masks resembled the simpler type of mumming rather than the more elaborate and spectacular disguising."). Cf. W. W. Greg, *A List of Masques, Pageants, etc.*, London, 1902 (bibliog.).

[19] Soergel, 88 f.; A. H. Thorndike, "Influence of Court Masques on the Drama," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1900, viii. 116; F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, 2 vols., Boston, U. S. A., 1908, ii. 128 f.

[20] T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 2nd ed., London, 1900, 221.

masquerade and renamed it the *Ballet* or *Ballet d'Action.*[21] Some French critics have referred to the British masque as a ballet. They are by no means identical, though doubtless each influenced the other.

Antimasque

In Jacobean days several of the most gifted writers were engaged to ensure the highest possible success, but in spite of the genius of Ben Jonson and other playwrights the masques were at times rather tedious. What they had gained in dignity by their former alliance with the Moralities, they had lost in vivacity. In his play of 1605, called the *Masque of Blackness,* Jonson kept out the introductory speeches and stanzas, making the players explain the plot by means of dialogue, a device as old as the Gilgamesh and Kadesh epics or the *Rigveda* and the *Iliad.* The gorgeous scenic art of the masque was found to be less alluring than the comedy of the ordinary theatre. Although well aware of its possible danger to art, Jonson gave the court what he calls "a foil or false masque," in which there was scope for merry antics not unlike those of the original mummings. Some of these antimasques were performed in dumb show and were thus a reversion to pantomime.

Decay of the Masque

For a time the masque was a frequent episode in royal progresses. In its less elaborate form it differed but little from the pageant, whereas in its higher literary form the delineation of character as well as the action brought the masque nearer to the regular drama. Finally, however, it became a hard matter to preserve the masque in its lofty place in the realm of art. The antimasque, whose subtle potency began to be felt,

[21] For the *commedia dell' arte,* or Comedy of Masks, see R. Garnett, *History of Italian Literature,* New York, 1898, 305ff.; Schelling, i. 196.

almost from the outset had pointed to burlesque. The court masque, commonly played at Christmas or Shrovetide, was always aristocratic, and usually devised for a select audience capable of appreciating its allegorical allusions. Though speech and song were rendered by professional entertainers, the maskers, who posed and danced in sumptuous costumes, were mostly representatives of royalty or the nobility. The antimasque players were professionals, and their daily bread to some extent depended upon the amount of laughter they could evoke in a given time.

There was another factor in the eventual decay of the masque as a dramatic performance. When the unhappy civil war broke out, Charles I was too busy battling for his throne to pay attention to amusements, and the masque inevitably languished. The triumphant Puritans cared for none of these things. When monarchy was restored in 1660, the British court was under the influence of France. The comedy of the stage was deemed the best antidote for the prior tragedies of the battlefield.

Successors of the Masque

As the effigy play is essentially the offspring of barbaric culture, so in the autocratic stage of culture we note the first and last appearance of the literary masque, with its immature congeners the royal progresses of Babylon and Egypt as well as the religious pageants of India and Greece. When the regular stage began to appropriate some of the more popular features of the masque, the magnetism of the theatre stole all the glamour from its more stately rival. The masked ball was discovered to be a good enough substitute for the social element of the court plays. In time the spectacular part of the masque blended with the pageant of civic ceremonial or of carnival, while the lyric side of the masque became absorbed by the opera. The terp-

sichorean features were merged with ballet and pantomime. Thus vanished the masque as a distinct type, though its influence still lives in the literary drama.

b. Lyric

As compared with the best tribal specimens of subjective song the lyric of autocracy as a whole ranks distinctly higher. No doubt some of the themes or motives are practically identical with those employed by the hunting and cibicultural tribes, but this is inevitable because no rigid line can be drawn between the various stages of literary evolution. Some of the incantations and the labour ditties of Babylonia, India, Egypt, and Greece may be virtually the same as those of the Eskimo and the Maoris, for instance; but on the other hand, the war-chant, the love song, the wedding hymn, and the dirge usually reveal a closer harmony between diction and sentiment.

In other words autocratic lyric is more artistic. The spontaneous poetry of the folk is being obscured by the deliberate poetry of professional minstrels. Verse is beginning to measure up to the criterion of objective literary criticism. Enduring poetry is felt to be more than sentiment expressed in measured rhythm. Lyric poetry is being quickened by the potency of beauty. It is striving to express man's inner life of emotion and outer life of conduct, the rational control of which is reflected in the varied metres that are at once a cause and an effect of creative imagination.

The Hymn

It is the hymn that is the characteristic form of autocratic lyric. Here there is abundant scope for eulogy of monarch or deity, of kingship mundane or celestial. The metrical prayers of Nebuchadrezzar, the ten books of early Vedic hymns, the sacred odes in honour of a monarch like Usertesen III of Egypt,

and the choral pæan of Apollo constitute a type of lyric which could not have evolved until the warrior king was singled out by priestly poets as the earthly representative of the gods.

In general a hymn is a religious ode; more specifically it is a number of stanzas employed in public worship. It would be hazardous to affirm which is the earlier, yet it seems clear that the metrical predecessors of the hymns are magic songs or incantations. Naturally those that were composed by or for great heroes or kings would be likely to outlast all rivals. As the hymns became more elaborate, the combination of verses into strophes was a step dictated by necessity. Perhaps the earliest strophe was that of four lines, but in order to avoid monotony the poets gradually introduced variations in both strophic and metric framework. The descriptive hymns appear to be successors of pastoral lyrics composed in praise of nature and its potencies.

The penitential psalm of Babylonia strikes a new keynote in hymnology. It is evidently the product of introspection, however incomplete. Sin may be ceremonial rather than moral delinquency, yet in either case it is a dead weight which only the all-powerful gods can take away. This abject sense of sin is absolutely unknown in tribal literature, and there are reasons, the discussion of which would perhaps not be strictly relevant to the main theme. Let us call the sacred lyrics of autocracy what we please—metrical prayers, hymns, psalms—one thing is certain. Some of them exhibit such grace and dignity as to warrant their preservation among the world's best literature.

c. Epic

Hitherto some of us may have had doubts as to the wisdom of applying the inductive method of anthrop-

ology in order to solve some of the more difficult problems of literary evolution. Some of us perhaps have been expecting the so-called Aristotelian or Perfect induction, yet if we were to set out to exhaust the ethnic universe, we should exhaust ourselves long before we had reached our goal. Some of us may have courteously consented to visit the African forest, the Australian bush, the Eskimo icelands and other places, tempted by curiosity rather than by hope of finding trustworthy literary data. Was it at all likely that any mimetic and oral phenomena of contemporary tribes could enable us to restore, however vaguely, the prehistoric ages of nations, ancient and modern? Let it be granted that no single fact or factor is in itself a basis for conviction. On the other hand, let it be also granted that cumulative evidence has often swayed the reason of the most cautious thinkers. A multitude of details may point so consistently in one direction that scepticism seems much less reasonable than belief, though each detail if isolated would carry but little weight.

Epic Types

Genetically the simplest possible division of higher narrative verse comprises collective epic and individual epic. The former is in a sense traditionary, the work of different poets whom time usually veils in anonymity; the latter is the composition of a single artist. Each begins with one composer, whose work constitutes the nucleus of the collective epic and the whole of the individual one. The Creation and Gilgamesh epics of Babylonia, the *Mahabharata* of India, and the Homeric epics appear to be collective; Kalidasa's Indo-Aryan epic [22] and the Kadesh of Egypt are individual.

[22] Indianists are not agreed as to the *Ramayana*, though its alleged author, as in the case of Homer, is named. Valmiki and Homer may have composed a nucleus, which later poets amended and enlarged.

Tribal Evidence

In comparison with the metrical narratives of primitive and barbaric communities the epic of autocracy is seen to have attained full stature. Objectively neither type of epic is a miracle of creation but a product of growth, individual and social. Our consideration of tribal saga has prepared us for another stage in the epic process. The mythic tales and lowly lays of the hunter as well as the higher heroic poems of the Zulu, Fijian, and Zuñi tribes are illuminating to the sympathetic student of literature. They serve to indicate the general trend of the prehistoric evolution of Babylonian, Indo-Aryan, Egyptian, and Hellenic epic. If, however, we had to depend upon tribal evidence alone, it might be well to suspend judgment.

Autocratic Evidence

Now we are confronted by a new advocate, one that can scarcely be deemed a special pleader. What is the testimony of the epic of autocracy? Manifestly it is a confirmation of our method of research. Autocratic epic, whether of Asia, Africa, or Europe, undeniably stands upon a basis of myth and legend or idealized history. In every case those epics allude to earlier ballads or lays. In every case their diction and metre and thought imply prehistoric experimentation, the nature of which, so far as the poems themselves indicate, is analogous to narratory phenomena of the primitive and barbaric tribes of to-day.

Acme of Epic Art

Both the drama and the lyric of autocracy are of less interest than narrative verse. We shall see that it is democratic government, with its insistence upon the worth of man as an individual, that affords a natural outlet for representation of the human will

through drama and for emotional expression of the many, through new types of artistic lyric. Under autocratic auspices we observe the flood-tide of narrative verse. The autocrat's right to rule comes from heaven and not from the will of his fellow-men. In the popular imagination he therefore stands out more conspicuously than a tribal chieftain, limited monarch, or chief magistrate of a republic. Myths and legends receive a new interpretation in the light of monarchical splendour with its pomp of ritual and courtly ceremonial. Consciously or unconsciously the professional poets catch the larger significance of autocracy in its relation to the seen and the unseen, and they become craftsmen whose diction tends to drift away from the common speech of everyday life. It is because of a unique relationship to the gods and bygone heroes that the absolute monarch and other great figures of earth are apt to be eulogized in dignified metrical narrative. The glamour of the nation's mythic and legendary heritage ennobles the mighty war-lord who enjoys the lustre of divine ancestry or favour. Until society becomes more rational, it is easy to behold the magic romance of past ages embodied in an absolute monarch. Such a sovereign, especially if he is a successful warrior, readily becomes the incarnation of national pride and valour. When men listen to the recitation of metrical narrative dealing with kings and heroes and gods, they are transported to a bigger world because they are unwittingly projecting themselves into the narratives. Prose seems relatively commonplace. It is under such circumstances therefore that the poet's imagination is so quickened that epic verse blossoms into the highest literary beauty.

The Epic Standard

Poetry is a metrical expression of the imagination of a social group through the medium of individuals,

and literature in general is the ultimate criterion of civilization. If the Homeric poems be taken as the norm of epic verse, the Kadesh of Egypt errs perhaps on the side of brevity as the two popular Indo-Aryan epics err in prolixity. In force the Egyptian poet compares favourably with Homer, whereas the Indo-Aryan poems are at times feeble in action. Coherency of argument is well preserved in the Babylonian and other epics, with the exception of those of India. The plot of the Babylonian Creation epic revolves around the divine Marduk, who becomes champion of the gods upon condition that he is acknowledged as their king. The Gilgamesh epic embraces a series of incidents intended to exhibit the glorious deeds of an ancient monarch. Thus it is with all of the autocratic epics; the whole purpose of the narrative is tc exalt royal and noble heroes by linking them with the supernatural. In spite of supernatural incidents the Homeric poems are conspicuous for sanity, for mental poise, although the wrath of Achilles is a theme less dignified than that of Babylonian epos, for instance. In literary style, however, the Homeric poems are without a rival.

d. Prose

We have observed that besides technical texts and ritualistic formulas, the prose of autocracy includes myths, legends, fables, tales of enchantment, oratory, annals, letters, romance, biography. Evidently there is a greater variety of theme in autocratic than in tribal prose. Myth and legend first appear among the hunters. To these are added fable, magic tale, oratory, and annals among the cibicultural tribes. Thus, excluding the technical texts and the formulas, letter-writing, romance, and biography are manifestly modes of literary expression that appear for the first time amid a political, economic, and social environment which has been termed autocratic.

It is not to be supposed, of course, that national myth and legend are identical with their primitive prototypes. No hunting tribe has invented or borrowed the art of writing. The Adapa legend of Babylonia, for example, is not merely in permanent form, but in plot and imagery it surpasses the best efforts of the Australian and Eskimo aborigines, though it is not so remote from Maori and Cherokee legend.

Again, the Sanskrit fable, the Egyptian tale of enchantment, and the oratory of Homeric Greece have their prototypes among Cherokee, Besisi, Zulu, and other advanced tribes, yet as a rule there is a difference. The average Indo-Aryan fable has about the same good sense and good humour as the fable of the higher North American tribes, for instance, yet the former is composed with such literary skill as to make it a model for the world. The Egyptian tale of enchantment usually has fewer extravagances than a tribal narrative of similar character. As for Homeric oratory we can scarcely pass judgment upon its merits or demerits, because unfortunately it exists only in metrical form. Cherokee annals are not greatly inferior to those of Vedic India, though they show a marked contrast to the historical records of Babylonia and Egypt.

New Types of Prose

Correspondence, romance, and biography constitute the new types of prose in the autocratic stage of culture. The letters of Babylonia, Egypt, and Greece are not without their tribal forerunners. The message sticks of Australia, the mnemonic notches of the Eskimo, and the wampums of North American tribes are not systems of writing, but within certain limits they serve the purpose. They help the courier to recall details of the message that he is expected to carry. The rock paintings of Kwailand and Australia, the carvings of the Eskimo, and the pictographs of North

America are similar in motive to the hieroglyphs of Egypt. Thus while no tribe unassisted is known to have mastered the art of letter-writing, the tribal evidence indicates that men were striving in different ways to express themselves through letters. The goal was reached when the social environment was of sufficient maturity.

The romantic fiction of India and Egypt is simply a variation of myth and legend. Just as the technical text of autocracy is the direct descendant of cosmographic myth, just as fable is the animal myth with a transformed motive, so romantic fiction is sprung from heroic myth or legend. The legend, with its nucleus of fact veiled by unconscious fiction, is taken seriously by primitive peoples, whereas romantic fiction is a deliberate idealization which is never misunderstood by the literary artist. In other words the content of legend and romance is similar; apart from literary style it is the motive alone that determines the distinction. To primitive man legend is a synonym for what we call romance and biography. To the Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom, however, legend, romance, and biography are in separate literary categories.

Characteristics

That autocratic prose was more difficult to master than poetry is shown directly by its comparative scarcity, and indirectly by the fact that in this twentieth century no one has yet laid down the laws of prose rhythm. In letter-writing Babylonia apparently attained the greatest proficiency among the four peoples we have been considering. Upon any other hypothesis it would be difficult to explain the choice of the cuneiforms for royal and diplomatic correspondence with Egypt and other lands. Of the character of Homeric letter-writing we know nothing; indeed some deny

that it ever existed. Indo-Aryan prose ranges from the dull Vedic efforts in legend and liturgy to the facile composition of the Sanskrit fabulists. One of the most noteworthy features of Egyptian prose is its occasional employment for character analysis.

Variety in Unity

Our consideration of the literature of autocracy may serve to illustrate the fact that the rise of new pursuits, of new interests in general, is paralleled by the appearance of new literary types. Every art is a perceptible expression of the human spirit. Greater diversity in the arts, useful and fine, does not introduce chaos but higher unity into the realm of the beautiful; the end of man's strivings becomes clearer to himself. Differentiation is the necessary antecedent of a higher unity. No art-form appears to possess such individuality as when it is thrown into relief by the proximity of other forms between which and itself exists a marked distinction. Hence it is that the attraction of a human figure is enhanced when the painter furnishes a background of natural scenery. Hence it is that in a great epic the variety of episode brings out more plainly the unity of the narrative as a whole. As art develops, it simply improves upon the lessons which were first taught by nature, especially the lesson of variety in unity.

CHAPTER XX

DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE

All tribal literature is rather narrow and provincial, because it receives its sanction solely from those who believe that they are related by blood-ties. At a higher plane of refinement autocracy serves a most useful purpose until a majority of the commoners are prepared for self-government. Autocratic literature in general is neither so provincial nor so unpolished, but its strongest appeal is to persons of social prominence. That is to say, it is mainly a class product. Democratic literature, in its lower form, leans to the side of the commonalty and is blind to their limitations. In its higher form, however, it cares nothing about political and social cant. Its most powerful motive is kindly recognition of every member of a given community, apart from any accident of birth or breeding. In other words, true democratic literature is an æsthetic expression of toleration, of sympathy, of enlightenment.

Furthermore, it may be produced occasionally in communities that have an autocratic organisation. The precursors of institutional democracy are thinkers and writers who are imbued with the democratic spirit, although they dwell among people that perhaps lack the self-restraint, the wisdom, and the initiative necessary for popular government. Such men are the authors of a democratic literature which is relatively exotic or sporadic or prophetic. Those individual democrats have seen visions and dreamed dreams, which are in some measure realized by the literary and other activities of institutional or representative democracy.

I. Ancient Literature

The sixth century B. C. marks the birthtime of Confucius and the Buddha, two Asiatic sages whose words, however misinterpreted, have swayed millions of their fellowmen. It is easy to believe that their democratic spirit was a source of marvel to contemporaries. Four and twenty centuries have failed to tarnish the lustre of the maxim, "What you would not others should do unto you, do not unto them." [1]

It is to Europe, however, that we must look for the earliest realisation of democracy, the Attic form of which is the most familiar. In its domestic relations the Athens city-state of the fifth century was democratic, although it denied the privileges of citizenship to foreigners even if they were freemen. The poor man enjoyed equality of opportunity with the rich, and such a system gave full scope to latent talent everywhere. Long before Athens and other cities became independent of kings and tyrants, Hellenic democracy had spoken through the *Erga* of Hesiod, which is to some extent an insurgent outcry against the Bœotian oligarchy of nobles. Again, during the period of transition from aristocracy to democracy, elegiac, iambic, and melic poetry blossomed into many a fragrant form.[2] Though for a season Solon's statecraft seemed to have been exerted for naught, the constitution laid down by this great elegiac poet was not destroyed. His *Salamis* has all the fire and resolution of a fearless lover of freedom. Scarcely democratic, both Simonides and Pindar are worthy of mention for their superb skill in cosmopolitan melic, an artistic medium through which they made a pan-Hellenic appeal.

[1] E. A. Giles, *History of Chinese Literature*, New York, 1901, 32.

[2] H. Kynaston, *Greek Elegiac Poets*, London, 1890, pp. v ff.; Jebb, *Class. Gr. Poetry*, 94 ff.; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, London, 1906, pp. xviii ff.

It is universally conceded that ancient Athens occupies a unique position as a literary centre. Her democracy of government is more than matched by her aristocracy of intellect. Never were so many great poets, philosophers, orators, architects, painters, and sculptors assembled within an equally short period in the same city. For the first time in the world's history dramatic poetry reached unusual excellence of style and thought. In certain respects the genius of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides has never been excelled in the sphere of tragedy. Though Aristophanes was rather prejudiced against the poor, he possessed the virtues as well as the limitations of an intense independent nature. Impatient at times in matters of technique, his style, so direct and vivid, has made his caustic wit memorable to this day.

The prose of Hellenic commonwealths attained the highest distinction in history, philosophy, and oratory. It is scarcely necessary to mention the names of Herodotus and Thucydides in history, Plato and Aristotle in philosophy, and the orators Isocrates and Demosthenes. These are names that are still synonymous with leadership in their respective branches of literary art.

The Roman Republic was democratic in the sense that the people were sovereign in legislative and other matters. Virtually, however, it was an oligarchy.[3] Among the brilliant writers of this commonwealth none is more original than the didactic poet Lucretius. His *De Rerum Natura* is in some respects a remarkable prevision of modern scientific thought. Through imaginative insight he resurrects primeval man with a sanity and plausibility that cannot fail to delight the anthropologist. The stately and sonorous hexameter forms a splendid vehicle for his broodings over life and death.

To Cicero belongs the honour of having created a

[3] Fowler, 220, 238.

prose style which is still worthy of the most careful study. It is from his orations that we learn the true significance of the Latin word *humanitas,* a conception which has influenced the Caucasian race since Ciceronian ideals were first announced. In the art of letter-writing he excels all his predecessors, and no epistolary stylist of modern times has cared to ignore him.

It was in western Europe that Rome found peoples that were racially capable of appreciating her genius in a modified form. In some respects the provincial administration of Rome was calculated to appeal to intelligent aliens, many of whom, though patriotic enough, were not blind to the merits of the superior culture brought within their reach. Long before Rome had declined in political importance, her civilisation had in some measure passed far beyond her frontiers. This was one of the factors that prepared Europe for the constitutive democracy of Christianity.

2. Medieval Literature

Allusion has already been made to Confucius and the Buddha. The same inherent democratic spirit is linked with the name of Jesus the Christ, whose teaching began to attain world-interest during the early medieval period. This Asiatic religion, steadily ousting or degrading the European deities, spread throughout the Roman Empire. The oldest native account of Britain, for instance, is the work of the Christian Gildas whose impassioned *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* dates from the middle of the sixth century. It was in the first quarter of this century that Boethius wrote his *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in an Italian prison. Its verse and prose are popular, lucid, comprehensive in outlook. As a Platonic interpretation of Christianity its spirit is so frank, so manly, so urbane that it tinged European poetry for centuries.

With the heroic and the religious poetry of the Middle Ages we are little concerned, but as a preparation for truly popular poetry the development of Latin verse is most important. There is a partial revolt against the old rules of Greek and Latin prosody. The rising sense of self-initiative, the growing regard for forms of expression more vital to social needs, begins to assert itself in the frequent substitution of accent for quantity in both Romaic and Latin verse-measures, the latter exhibiting the greater variety. Rime, sometimes indifferent to either quantity or accent, is becoming more common. The sequentia of the ninth century, for instance, is something new in Latin verse. The melody dominates the form of the poem, the words being arranged to fit the tunes. Following neither classical nor vernacular cadences, the sequentia has historical interest as a symptom of an approaching change in literary form and content. For centuries Latin had been the international language of western Europe, and therefore the most appropriate vehicle for a literature whose appeal was mainly to the educated classes. Latin quickened and elevated both verse and prose before it was superseded by younger rivals.

From the ninth to the eleventh century, when Constantinople had become the most important city in Europe, there was a renaissance which did much for the preservation of Greek letters. With the exception of the popular songs and some of the narrative poems, the literature of this period is marked by learning rather than by the individuality of creative genius. The people were of less consequence than the court, although three centuries earlier the Hippodrome had been the rallying-ground of many a popular movement in the Byzantine empire. If a trace of ancient Greek democracy survived anywhere among Hellenistic cities, it found utterance during Justinian's reign in the

great circus, whose factions were sometimes strong enough to checkmate or to jeer at imperial aggression.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries France was the literary leader of Europe. In inventiveness, in variety of achievement, and in attainment of form she surpassed Iceland, while the rest of Europe emulated her artistic methods. If Provence was the first highly successful pioneer in bending classical prosody to vernacular uses, she was as ready to impart what she had assimilated and transformed. The *fabliaux*, especially of northern France, are of interest in the evolution of democratic literature. From the middle of the twelfth century these short tales in verse occupy a field distinct from contemporaneous epic and romance. They deal mainly with men and women of common life in a humorous fashion, and they are addressed to a bourgeois audience. Even when satirical and indelicate, they throw a sidelight upon a world that is removed from courts and castles. Feudalism is unable to change human nature.

As a rule the medieval romance is aristocratic in tone, but the most famous of them all is largely democratic. During the first half of the thirteenth century Guillaume de Lorris composed an allegorical poem in octosyllabic verse. *Le Roman de la Rose* seeks to celebrate the trials and triumphs of love through a fictitious dream in a garden, whose rose is the heroine. About a generation later this serious exposition of aristocratic chivalry was completed by Jean de Meung, though his contribution is antithetic. Indebted for literary form to Guillaume, he championed ideals some of which may have been suggested by Boethius and by the *fabliaux*. Political and social questions receive such vigorous treatment that he evidently hopes to arouse his contemporaries to independent thought concerning property and government. In artistry Jean is inferior to Guillaume, though his continuation

adds piquancy to the work as a whole. In spite of its great length this poem influenced European literature for centuries, and it was popular at its birthtime. The burgesses of the great towns, sometimes reinforced by the university scholars, were not slow to favour any weapon aimed at feudal privilege, and the caustic song of the citizen was the challenge to the courtly lyric of the troubadour.

By the fourteenth century even the *chanson de geste* displays a tone that would be surprising in court poetry of earlier times, a tone which is easily discerned in the *Combat des Trente,* probably composed not long after the fight in 1350. So greatly do the English harass northern France that a Breton leader, Jean de Beaumanoir, challenges thirty of their knights to a contest, and with twenty-nine comrades avenges the invasion. It is the motive of the Breton champion that is novel in this type of poetry. He is indignant because of the sufferings of his impoverished countrymen, men who can no longer till the soil, innocent men who care nothing about baronial and royal quarrels.

In Italy and other lands, towns were growing, some of whose citizens were acquiring wealth and were at times influential enough to curb a lawless nobleman. In the twelfth century was formed the Lombard league of free cities, the following century being marked by the appearance of the earliest extant literature in the Italian vernacular. From Provence came the chief impetus to the Sicilian literary instinct. When the court poetry of Sicily was transplanted to the Tuscan republic, it grew into a fitting vehicle of individual and communal thought. During this century in a republican environment, in a society conducive to the growth of individual character, Italy's greatest literary genius became known to Florence and to the country in general. It was not by chance that individualism permeated Dante's masterpiece, the most subjective,

most majestic, interpretation of that era. It was his strong personality that drove him into exile and that gave passion as well as power to his unique *Divina Commedia*. As Dante himself remarks in the *Convivio*, "The race exalts not individuals, but individuals the race"—an anticipation of modern doctrine. It is his own example, in spite of an academic belief in imperialism, that justifies Dante's inclusion among those who, perhaps unwittingly, are democratic in spirit. The poet himself had surely a very definite reason for employing the Tuscan vernacular rather than the Latin of the learned classes.

From early medieval times the guilds and the free cities tended to promote greater self-respect among the people of western Europe. The former were co-operative societies, social, religious, commercial, from the last of which sprang the craft-guilds. The guilds assisted in the development of political influence among the burghers, so that by the thirteenth century the famous Hanseatic league was ready to repel either prince or pirate. Professional poets were no longer obliged to depend upon court favour. The Mastersong, which now began to achieve prominence, was the exclusive product of German burgher poets; indeed they too formed a guild, whose members strove to eclipse both the courtly *minnesang* and the rural folk-song. About the same time civic audiences of the Low Countries were relishing homely narrative verse, pathetic and humorous. Throughout the free cities of Europe the fashionable religious and courtly literature was slowly giving way to a literature of the people, which was often satirical or realistic.

Apart altogether from contemporaneous folk-song and balladry the claims of equity found artistic expression in the fourteenth century. One year before Langland chose a humble countryman as the hero of his poem, the Black Death had again swept over Eng-

land. At such times the masses of the people suffer most, and the poet is well aware of the unseen tragedies of lowly life. It is in the higher sense of the term that the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* may be called democratic. As conservative in prosody as he is liberal in sentiment, Langland is alive to the frailties and the virtues of the poor as well as the rich. He is no apostle of revolution or anarchy. Both Dante and Langland believe that monarchy, shorn of abuses, is good enough for men who are willing to obey the dictates of conscience. Like the authors of the French *Romance of the Rose* Langland follows Boethius in casting his poetry into the framework of a vision. In spite of its rather cumbrous allegory the poem has much of the magic of keen dramatic delineation. Influenced by the older alliterative verse, by coeval Miracle Plays, and by French allegorical poetry, it remains an invaluable picture of rural and civic life in England.

In his later years Chaucer, who was a contemporary of Langland, also exhibits much interest in people of little or no social prominence. This courtly poet, borrowing most of his technique from France and Italy, has less passion but more humour than Langland. The opening scene of his *Canterbury Tales* is a tavern, whose host is one of the dominant characters of the narrative. Free from prejudice against foreign nations, observant of man as man, Chaucer plays no mean part in showing the possibilities of the vernacular as a vehicle for sympathetic treatment of man, whatever be his position in society.

Plays are common enough in Greek, Latin, English, French and other languages much earlier, but it was in the fifteenth century that the drama of western Europe became the chief literary medium of the commonalty. Beginning with the histrionic features of public worship and influenced to some extent by class-

ical tradition and by medieval mumming, the religious play culminated in those stupendous cycles whose scene was the whole world and whose ultimate theme was the contest of God and Satan for the possession of mankind. The democratic spirit lurked even in the old liturgical drama, since the church was naturally anxious to make Miracle Play, Mystery, or Morality intelligible to the illiterate masses.[4] This inherent tendency gradually attained self-revelation. First, as early as the thirteenth century a secular drama[5] thrived alongside the religious plays. Second, the vernacular began to be largely employed upon the stage.[6] Third, the increasing comic element suited the satirical attitude of civic life. Fourth, the clergy were no longer the sole authors of religious plays. Fifth, the guilds insisted upon providing the actors. Plays, both sacred and profane, were now for the people and of the people.

If Gadhelic medieval drama ever existed, no Irish, Manx, or Scots specimens are extant. The Kymric peoples, however, can point to the Cornish drama,[7] which for several reasons is of no little interest to scholars. Besides a fifteenth-century trilogy of nearly nine thousand verses, the extant dramatic literature of Cornwall comprises *The Life of St. Meriasek* and *The Creation of the World with Noah's Flood.* These are neither translations nor adaptations from English. Two of the Cornish theatres are still in fair preservation, and it is probable that the actors were laic amateurs.

[4] In Britain no distinction was drawn between Miracle and Mystery, the latter being the *Mystère* of the fifteenth century. In France as a rule Miracle is concerned with legends recorded by the church fathers, Mystery is mainly based upon Scriptural narrative, and the Morality employs allegorical characters.

[5] Adam de la Halle of Arras wrote the *Jeu d'Adam ou de la Feuillée* and the *Jeu Robin et Marion.*

[6] The Norman *Représentation d'Adam* may have been composed in the twelfth century.

[7] H. Jenner, "The Cornish Drama," *Celtic Review,* 1907, iii. 360 ff.; iv. 41 ff. Cf. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches,* 2 n., etc. Incidentally Mr. Jenner points out (374) that the Breton dramatic literature is of considerable extent, Keltic plays being still written and acted by the people.

Villon and Dunbar were the two most prominent writers of democratic literature in the fifteenth century. There is a pathetic charm about the life of each of those witty geniuses, who were the first to see life with eyes that are almost modern. Creating no new literary type, Villon through his verbal artistry and inner freedom [8] broke away from the antique, a fact that is abundantly borne out by his ballads and rondeaux. Like Chaucer the Scottish Dunbar was a court poet, yet in spite of himself the democratic soul found voice even against royalty. In conciseness as well as in metrical skill he required no lessons from the more fortunate poet of London. No medieval writer ever attempted so great a variety of verse, each the inimitable expression of changing moods. With the ease of a master he poured forth his versatile satire in vibrant verse, whether upon a mechanic's experiment in aerodromics or upon the oddities of a negress whom he dubbed "my ladye with the mekle lippis." Possessing the same manly candour as St. Augustine and Rousseau, Dunbar was a sincere student of human nature, no matter how humble, yet he preferred to present his analysis from the humorous standpoint. While Henryson has not Dunbar's iridescent play of humour, the earlier poet was one of the most remarkable men of his age. Sometimes the lilt of the verse, influenced no doubt by the traditionary ballad, reminds one of Heine or Kipling. His *Robene and Makyne,* popular and natural, is probably the best European pastoral since the days of Theocritus and Virgil.

3. Modern Literature

Among useful inventions none occupies a higher place than printing. The Turkish seizure of Constantinople with its dispersion of Hellenistic scholars, the

[8] A noteworthy contribution to picaresque literature is his poetry in thieves' slang.

discovery of America, and the cleavage of the Western Church are more or less associated with the dawn of modern literature, yet they are relatively of minor consequence. No one of them could have given us newspapers, periodical magazines, or printed books. Had printing not been invented, it is rather difficult to conceive of any marked change from medievalism.

Prior to this invention most authors wrote for the wealthy, because no impecunious person could purchase a copy of the original manuscript. Printing has done more to elevate the masses than any invention known to history. It has produced a democracy that raises every worthy person from the mire of illiteracy with its consequent spiritual bondage. Within certain limits few men are now so unfortunate that they cannot secure initiation into this intellectual freemasonry.

No student of literary evolution will suppose that there was any sudden change from medieval to modern letters. In every century may be observed changes that spring from earlier transformations, but in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century the realm of letters begins to assume characteristics, some of which we believe we observe in the literature of to-day. For instance, the interminable romances and allegories are going out of fashion, as if people were eager for spiritual pleasure, more tense and more terse. Written literature no longer receives its sanction from the leisured class alone, and the new public demands a speedier appeal to emotion, imagination and reason. Consequently, the essay, the ballad, and similar forms of prose and poetry are better adapted to the deepening sense of personality and nationality in western Europe.

It is to a cultured Frenchman that modern literature is indebted for the essay. In an easy tolerant style Montaigne discusses various aspects of humanity like a typical man of the world. Careless perhaps

about strict continuity of thought, he writes in much the same way as a man would talk to his comrades or acquaintances. If Montaigne did not invent the title of this literary type, at all events he was the first to give it meaning. In his hands it is no formal treatise like that of many of his successors, but rather a sort of impromptu expression of the moods of the writer.

The democratic spirit of Spain finds outlet mainly in the ballad, the picaresque novel, and the drama. Though the *Romanceros* or collections of ballads contain some elements that may be comparatively old, yet they are chiefly interesting in so far as they are literary expressions of popular sentiment. As early as the fourteenth century Juan Ruiz wrote spirited Castilian poems, some of which are addressed to the people in a vein of candour and satiric humour. Those later stanzas, known as the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo,* lay emphasis upon the merits of middle-class society.

During the earlier generations of the modern period the vitality of Spain was second to none. Not only were Spaniards the acknowledged leaders in exploitation of the New World, but in the sixteenth century it was Spain that evolved a new literary species—the picaresque or picaroon novel, in which the hero is a rogue or a vagabond. The *Lazarillo de Tormes,* composed in terse Castilian, became the vogue in all Western European countries, and continues to afford amusement to readers of the twentieth century.

About the same time Spain gave birth to two geniuses who in several respects have never been equalled by any country. Cervantes is a familiar name in literary history. Neither his sonnets nor his pastorals, neither his moral tales nor his dramas are comparable with his fascinating *Don Quixote.* It is as a sympathetic humorist, national and universal, that he occupies a unique position among the immortals. As for

Lope de Vega, it is true that there were Spanish dramatists before him, but his versatility embraced prose and poetry of all kinds. Lope de Rueda had written for the masses, whereas Lope de Vega wrote for everyone in the Iberian peninsula. Some of his work is very loose in construction, yet this is no surprise if we can believe that he wrote eighteen hundred plays and over four hundred *autos*. In fertility of invention Lope de Vega is unparalleled. Though he fails to make the universal appeal of a Shakespeare, he has afforded numerous hints for plot and incident to the dramatists of other countries.

To trace in detail the borrowings and interborrowings of Europe alone would involve a series of volumes, wherein one might endeavour to trace the influence of Hellenic upon Latin and East European literature, and of Latin upon Western Europe. Provence gives assistance to Italy, which reacts upon Spain and France; while France leaves her mark upon Flanders, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. At all times France exerts very great power in Britain, though Italy and other countries contribute thereto. Britain in turn reacts strongly upon France, Germany, Denmark and Scandinavia.

When the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods of English literary history are reached, no country equals Britain in the number of brilliant names. Language-test is not a race-test. Shakespeare was born in Warwickshire, a county which according to the statistics of relative nigrescence is as Keltic as Perthshire and North Munster.[9] Be that as it may, not far from the Welsh border the most distinguished of dramatists received his formal education before he went south to London. His fame rests less upon his poems and sonnets than upon his plays. Montaigne and Cervantes were his greatest contemporaries, yet the testimony of

[9] Ripley, *Races of Europe*, 318 ff. Cf. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, p. iv.

both critics and populace puts Shakespeare above all literary artists. This does not mean that his work is without blemish, but it does mean that he revealed the inner nature of man, whether king or beggar, in lines that will not readily perish. With the accent of his country and his time he spoke so irresistibly that all the world has been pleased to pay homage.

The components of literary sequence and transformation are in the aggregate so subtle, so impalpable, that the utmost which the careful student may discover is an occasional dynamic factor, apparently standing out—even if at times it may be a mirage—with greater prominence. The mighty river of literary evolution is fed by myriads of underground runnels, whose contents ooze into the main channel imperceptibly. The visible tributaries are alone within our ken.

In the seventeenth century we begin to be conscious of a certain impatience with authority as such. The age becomes critical, if we may judge by its philosophy, its science, and its literature in general. Reason institutes its work of liberation from modes that are believed to be outworn. This new outcome of growing personality may have weakened the inspiration of poetry for a time, yet in the long run it proves to be a gain to poetry no less than to prose. The advance of physical science brings with it greater virility in prose, a closer alliance between content and form, a more rational conception of the interaction of science and art, of thought and its expression. It is this endeavour that produces classicism, since the true classics of antiquity are based upon rational principles. If classicism becomes a burden, it is only when its disciples have misinterpreted and misapplied the fundamental canons.

Among modern literatures that of France is conspicuous for its style, its allusiveness, its luminosity. In the seventeenth century the French language at-

tained unusual literary elegance. Classicism, the endeavour to reveal the secret of ancient classical power, caught the fancy of modern France earlier than that of Britain, and it stayed longer. Prominent among French writers who worked in this spirit is Descartes, whose *Discours de la Méthode* has the lucidity, the thoroughness, and the rationality of the classic. The Cartesian philosophy brings out the worth of the individual, so far as he is a thinking being.

Louis XIV completed the work begun by Richelieu; he changed France from a feudal monarchy into an absolute one. He brought about a strong central government by exercising control over political and literary individuality. In the previous century it had not been so perilous to write without restraint, and thus sprang up great figures like Rabelais and D'Aubigné, more or less defiant toward irresponsible authority. Pierre Corneille and other noted dramatists of this reign were never so popular as Molière. The man who composed comedies like *Tartufe* and the *Misanthrope* may be inferior to Racine in verbal sorcery, yet he is entitled to rank among the greatest of European playwriters. A keen and courageous observer, Molière heaped ridicule upon the shams and affectations of his time. His works constitute a memorable vindication of common sense and habitual cheerfulness.

In 1622 the first English newspaper was issued. In the same century Milton, the stern republican, wrote his impassioned prose and verse. The mark of scholarship and imaginative force is stamped upon all his work, from the pamphlet on education to the sublime *Paradise Lost.* His plea for freedom of the press is as commendable as his apology for regicide is fallacious. The fame of Bunyan, who had none of Milton's learning, rests on his *Pilgrim's Progress,* the most popular allegory ever written in English. Its simple pictorial style and its knowledge of human

nature have cast a spell over most readers, more especially the youthful.

Perhaps the ablest prose writer among English poets is the versatile Dryden, with whom classicism begins to make its way north of the English channel. Noteworthy among his achievements is his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy,* which is the first elaborate exposition of literary criticism in England.

The liberty-loving Holland may point to Grotius, one of her most distinguished sons, a man who suffered imprisonment for his political and religious opinions. His *De Jure Belli et Pacis* is merely the masterpiece among many works, some of which are still authoritative. The national poet is Joost van den Vondel, whose tragedies and other works attracted the attention of the government as well as the people. For students of comparative literature his dramatic poem *Lucifer* is of interest, as it is known that Milton made use of it in the preparation of *Paradise Lost.* The great philosopher Spinoza was born in Amsterdam. In the second of his published works he taught that doctrines belong to the domain of philosophy, actions to that of the state, feelings to that of religion. Absolute freedom should prevail in the first and last, while the second should be regulated by the state in the interest of harmony. The *Jolly Adventurer* [10] of Heinsius, one of the most popular Dutch romances, is composed after the pattern of the Spanish picaresque novel. Heinsius exerted considerable influence upon German literature.

Though Germany was rather late in attaining literary opulence she was never outside the world of belles-lettres. In the sixteenth century Luther's compositions helped greatly to develop a flexible national prose. About the same time Hans Sachs, the shoemaker of

[10] *Den vermakelijken Avonturier,* 1695. Cf. Jan ten Brink, *Nicolaas Heinsius,* Rotterdam, 1885; id., *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,* Amsterdam, 1898, 502 ff.

Nuremberg, astonished his contemporaries by his inventive humour and by his homely philosophy. Next to Lope de Vega he is regarded as one of the most fertile playwriters. In the following century Grimmelshausen wrote his *Simplicissimus,* which takes its cue from the vagabond romances of Spain. Notwithstanding the fact that here and there the narrative is tedious, it is the most enticing German prose of the century. There is idealism underlying its playful realism. Christian Thomas expressed his admiration of French method and lucidity. His prose, perhaps rather rugged, was the vehicle of earnest journalistic efforts toward the emancipation of his country from irrational forms of creed and conduct.

In Italy the sixteenth century was second only to the age that included Dante and Petrarca. Machiavelli, in spite of his moral obliquity, was a sincere republican and patriot, appealing to a wider circle than Ariosto, who wrote mainly for the aristocracy. A man of unusual intellect, Machiavelli was the first Italian to work out a philosophy of history and statecraft. Since the days of Boccaccio, no Italian had written prose with such ability.

The reciprocal influence of politics and literature is well illustrated in Italy of the seventeenth century. State and church combined to repress democratic forms of government, with the result that prose began to lose its vitality. Where there is no freedom of expression, literature is bound to be lacking in individuality and promise. In their dialogues Galileo and Bruno dared to assert their independence, only to fall victims to mistaken zealots.

The same century witnessed the culmination of a species of comedy or comic recitation, which seems to have been well adapted to the national temperament. The *commedia dell' arte* looks like a survival of ancient folk-drama. The parts, very slightly sketched, were

assigned to the various performers, who filled in the outline extemporaneously.

In Spain during the seventeenth century dramatic poetry made wonderful progress. After Lope de Vega came Tirso de Molina, who is said to have been the creator of Don Juan.[11] Even if we forget that he received the compliment of having imitators, a man who could write several hundred plays, conspicuous for insight and virility, occupies no mean place in literary history. After the death of Lope the aristocratic Calderon become the most distinguished playwright of the century, though in certain respects he was inferior to Lope and Tirso. What the French and the later English call Mysteries, in Spain were at one time called Sacramental Acts (*Autos Sacramentales*). Finally the term *auto* was confined to a dramatised exhibition of the Eucharistic Mystery, played in the open air upon Corpus Christi day. Its characters are always allegorical, never worldly. It is in this class of religious drama, rather than in the secular plays, that the genius of Calderon reached its climax.

By way of prelude to a brief survey of the literature of the two centuries that precede our own, it may seem easy to sum up the leading movements as classicism, romanticism, and realism, with their subsequent modifications. Rarely does a general statement possess universal validity, even in a survey of national letters, much less in one of international scope, for there are free spirits in all democratic communities, souls that decline to submit to the spirit of the age.

The truth is that the classicism of the early eighteenth century and the romanticism of the first half of the nineteenth are phenomena that to a certain extent are never absent from society and its æsthetic activities. The one lays emphasis upon form, the

[11] Cf. F. de Simone-Brouwer, *Don Giovanni nella poesia e nell' arte musicale*, Napoli, 1894; A. Farinelli, "Don Giovanni," *Giorn. storico d. lett. ital.*, Torino, 1896, 37 ff.

other upon theme or content. So far as classicism is rational or truly Hellenic, it is universal and eternal. It is only when form becomes formalism that antagonism arises. So far as romanticism expresses a reasonable appreciation of the days that are no more, so far as it involves the quest of the unknown, freedom from needless conventionalities, it is helpful to society and by no means visionary. It is when romanticism becomes fantastic that art becomes remote from life, and ceases to have permanent value. Properly understood, both classicism and romanticism are virtually phases of a sane realism or idealism.

All the more notable literary movements of these two centuries have been concomitant with a quickening conception of the worth of the individual as a social being. In earlier times prose failed to reach the same high plane as verse, so that naturally we observe the progress in prose more clearly than that in verse. Prose has won fresh laurels by borrowing much of the lilting cadence and inherent charm of her elder sister, while poetry has borrowed themes which have broadened her method and drawn her closer to the heart of humanity in general.

In the British Isles the newspaper and other periodicals became definite factors in literature. Defoe was really the first of a series of gifted journalists, whose aim has been to guide as well as to set forth public opinion upon current topics that are believed to be important. His *Robinson Crusoe,* standing between the Elizabethan tale and the modern novel, entitles him to be regarded as the earliest writer of real English fiction. The periodical essay, which enormously extended public interest in literature, had its origin mainly with Addison, whose graceful style and delicate humour are noteworthy. His contemporaries lauded him as a great dramatist and poet, nevertheless it is his prose, familiar without vulgarity, polished

without affectation, that has won the admiration of posterity.

Fielding is one of those who helped to create the novel, a literary type which has largely taken the place of the drama. While his works may at times be too realistic to please readers of refinement, they contain many delineations of individual character. Scott, however, is generally considered to be the king of prose fiction. The author of *Waverley* has probably never been surpassed as a writer of historical romances, and his charming metrical romances show the same catholic sympathy with human nature in all its phases.

Macpherson's *Ossian* is usually believed to have been one of the earliest notes of romanticism in British poetry, and yet it would be hard to prove that the romantic attitude has ever been altogether absent. The democratic spirit never burned more steadily in any man's heart than in that of Burns, the national poet of Scotland. He has written a greater number of great songs than any author of modern times. His humorous and sentimental poems are read wherever the English language is understood. Moore, the most popular Irish poet who ever wrote in English, is noted chiefly for his amatory and patriotic songs. It may be urged that he never attains the loftiest heights of inspiration, nevertheless his fertile fancy and melodious phraseology render much of his work memorable.

If Shakespeare is the most objective of English poets, Byron is the most subjective. The revolutionary spirit led Byron into occasional extravagances of word and deed, yet he is a man's poet, virile, careless of petty detail, independent. The criticism of contemporaries is more or less precarious, and no one may venture to forecast the judgment of posterity. Browning and Tennyson are among the notable writers of recent English poetry, the former being the more profound, the latter the more popular. If Browning is

conspicuous for subtlety and analytical skill, Tennyson is a many-sided artist of unusual grace and delicacy.

In serious prose two of the chief names are Carlyle and Ruskin. It was Carlyle who first enabled the British people to form a just estimate of German literature, and it was the moral earnestness of his work that gave a new spiritual colour to public thought. In no uncertain tones he taught the sacredness of all kinds of toil, when performed in the proper spirit. As a prose stylist no author of recent years surpasses Ruskin. Eager that all men should be able to appreciate and to enjoy the beauty in art and in nature, he wrote in favour of greater social opportunities for the masses of the people.

The France of the last two centuries has been the scene of not a few changes, political, social, economic, and literary. Le Sage, who was familiar with Spanish literary conventions, presented a marked change to the classic seventeenth century. The appearance of his *Turcaret* upon the stage raised a storm among those in authority, so he turned to the novel. His *Gil Blas,* neither vulgar nor cynical, is probably the wittiest picaresque tale that ever was penned.

The deistic Voltaire, a great admirer of British liberty, was the most influential European writer of the eighteenth century. It is difficult to pass judgment upon the vast amount of work performed by this versatile genius who was playwriter, poet, critic, historian, and novelist. Though his destructive criticism at times betrayed him into excess, he did good work in the cause of popular freedom. Inspired by the inductive philosophy of England the *Encyclopédie* was written by a group of men whose leader was Diderot, one of the most fertile and brilliant writers of his time. The enthusiasm of J. J. Rousseau was at once his strength and his weakness. He exaggerated the evils that are inevitably associated with all things human.

In *Contrat social* he assumed that society begins with a tacit contract between all its citizens, by virtue of which they set up whatever form of government they desire. Unfortunately this doctrine was misinterpreted by those who fancied that the slaughter of aristocrats was a remedy for political and social grievances.

In poetry Béranger's witty and truly national songs make him almost the Burns of France. It was his *Le Roi d'Yvetot* that turned the laugh of the people upon the great Napoleon. A sort of pensive gaiety, quickness in catching the mood of the multitude, advocacy of social equality, combined to make him the lyric oracle of democracy. De Musset, who in his earlier years was a disciple of Byron, attained fame in both prose and verse. Superior to the lyric poems and novelettes are his dramas, which have a subtle aroma and piquancy. Had his rare gifts been allied with a nature better restrained, his achievements would doubtless have ranked even higher.

Under one guise or another the element of romance has always found a home in France. In the form of romanticism it appeared with Lamartine, a prominent figure in both politics and literature. An admirer of Ossian, it is his verse rather than his prose that makes him memorable. Careless of technical excellence, his sincere idealism gave a new impetus to poetry. Victor Hugo's adherence to the romantic attitude was first revealed in such dramas as *Cromwell.* He is the chief apostle of Gallic democracy in the nineteenth century, whether in novels like *Les Misérables* or in plays and poems. A consummate master of the poetic art the genius of Hugo is closely identified with the struggle for personal freedom in art. Hugo was human and had his faults, yet he is undoubtedly the most illustrious lyric poet of France.

It was during the last century that the so-called

realists or naturalists came to the front. The weakness of the whole school lies in its pessimism, its emphasis upon human frailty. *La Comédie Humaine* is a title too ambitious, since Balzac's works largely exclude characters of culture and refinement. He portrays a great variety of people, but from a limited standpoint. A voluminous writer, he has great insight, without much wit or delicacy.

In opposition to the naturalistic school came the *Symbolistes,* who declare that men never have a direct knowledge of things but impressions. Prompted by the belief that art should deal with sensation or feeling through the agency of symbols, the movement tends toward mysticism.

The written literature of Germany dates from the time of Charlemagne, whereas it is during the last two centuries that it has reached its zenith. Frederick the Great encouraged French rather than German literature, and his attitude was justifiable only so far as it helped to call attention to literary structure. Gottsched, who was an ardent admirer of French classicism, tried to apply its principles to the literary work of Germany, but he was more successful in destructive than in constructive criticism. With all his defects he deserves credit for having helped to improve the status of the drama. About the middle of the eighteenth century the English literary methods began to dominate German writers. Under the influence of Pope, Haller championed the rural folk of Switzerland, whose wholesome lives won his admiration. Even if his concise philosophic style be a direct imitation of the English poet, he works out each theme in his own fashion.

Like Vorosmarty in Hungary, so Klopstock in Germany, introduced a new dignity into his country's poetry. Klopstock's *Der Messias,* often tedious and unreal, is Miltonic in motive rather than in execution.

His odes are now more valued than the epic or the lyrical dramas, but the style is too artificial to be popular. Under the sway of French and English writers Wieland forsook his early pietism and wrote a variety of verse, some of which is rather fantastic. With an imperfect knowledge of Elizabethan English he produced the first German translation of Shakespeare.

Lessing is one of the chief names in German literature, whether critical or creative. Lucid and brilliant, his criticism is not always infallible. The founder of the modern German drama is Hellenic and English in his experimental dramas, but plays like *Minna von Barnhelm* are truly national. The engaging catholicity of the man is shown in his noble *Nathan der Weise,* through whose ring episode the poet seeks to demonstrate the inner unity of all true religions. Herder, the scholarly student of folk-song, did original work in æsthetics and other branches of thought. Granting that neither Lessing nor Herder has said the last word concerning the real nature of verse, they certainly stimulated others to attempt a more consistent philosophy of poetry.

The figure of Goethe, towering above all others in his country's literature, belongs to the same class as Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Molière. His *Faust,* for instance, appeals to all the world. While his genius is most clearly visible in the drama, he excelled in whatever he attempted. Schiller, the famous poet and dramatist, had all the qualities requisite for reaching the multitude as well as the more cultured. From the standpoint of the stage *Wallenstein,* a drama of the Thirty Years' War, has never been surpassed in Germany. His *Wilhelm Tell* is an idealisation of Swiss patriotism, a splendid contribution from one whose sympathies extended to all the surrounding countries of Europe. The most illustrious poet after Goethe was the mercurial Heine. More memorable

lyrics were never written in Germany. A master of both prose and verse, an unrivalled wit, his irony seldom veils the gallant sympathetic soul that struggled for individual and political liberty.

As in France and in Britain, so also in Germany, the novel is the form in which the nineteenth century largely expresses itself. A sense of humour is not so common in German literature that we can afford to ignore its presence in Richter. Had he been less prolix and discursive, he might have retained his hold upon the public for a longer period. The later works of Tieck are more ornate than his earlier. By his translations of Elizabethan dramatists he encouraged the growth of romanticism in his country's literature. The dialogues of his novelettes are rather stilted to suit the taste of the present day, yet Tieck's work is of interest as exhibiting a minor phase in the evolution of literature. Besides popular songs Chamisso, a Frenchman by birth, wrote *Peter Schlemihl,* a wonder story which has not a few Oriental and European analogues. With its plausible details it caught the fancy of his contemporaries. Keller, the Swiss republican, is considered to be one of the strongest fiction writers since Goethe. His humour partly atones for the slowness of the narrative. The characteristics of the later naturalistic movement are not unlike those observable in France and other European countries.

The foregoing outline, far from complete, may serve to indicate the leading tendencies of democratic literature. In conclusion, it must be observed that excellent work has been done in the New World. Both North and South America have advanced the cause of true democracy through newspapers, magazines, and books. American literature, in the more restricted sense of the phrase, virtually began with Franklin's *Autobiography,* earlier works being negligible. An admirer of Addison, Franklin wrote in a clear easy

manner, but it is doubtful if any autobiography has ever been composed with perfect candour. Irving, the genial humorist, was the first man in the United States whose works received the hearty endorsement of Europe. Encouraged by the friendship of Scott, Irving wrote essays and biographies in a manner so kindly, so entertaining, that some of his productions are still popular on both sides of the Atlantic.

Like Chateaubriand in France, Cooper brought the American tribes within the circle of polite literature. Even if inferior to the Breton genius in style and in imaginative splendour, Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* reveals the glamour of the forest with no little power. A follower of Scott, he composed some spirited romances of the sea and the prairie, accomplishing pioneer work in his native land. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is generally regarded as the greatest prose romance that has appeared in America. Subtlety of imagination, skilful limning of the occult, and grace in phraseology, are among the qualities that have preserved his popularity. Excelling in weird thrilling narrative, Poe, like De Maupassant, was a masterly writer of the short story. The synthetic qualities of his tales are evidently the product of a keen analytic intellect.

In serious prose one of the more familiar names is that of Emerson, whose glittering and discursive epigrams made a deep impression upon his contemporaries. He insists upon the duty of developing a free individuality. In his oracular fashion he teaches a form of idealism that tends to counteract the sordidness of materialism in society and the morbidness of the so-called naturalistic school in literature. By his *Conquest of Mexico* and other histories Prescott won no little fame, even if time has unveiled some grave inaccuracies. While his insight into character is never very keen, on the other hand he avoids extrava-

gances of either praise or censure, and draws pictures both vivid and interesting. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* is based upon a solid historical research, the integrity of which is somewhat marred by prejudice. Its graphic eloquent style and its sympathy with the struggles of the Netherlands gave it popularity with the reading public.

In poetry Longfellow is much more popular than either Poe or Whitman. Although his work may be lacking in distinction, in independent insight into human nature, it is always marked by reverence and by sympathy with humanity. Many of his short lyrics have a directness, a sincerity, a rhythmic effectiveness, that continue to attract. No American poet surpasses Poe in tonal magic, in artistry. Sometimes a single phrase will awake memories long forgotten. Creative fancy, mystic imagery, harmony, arrest the attention of discriminating verse-lovers. The work of Whitman has led to much discussion. His conception of liberty induced him to leap over metrical barriers, although it can scarcely be said that literature has gained by this scorn of form. Defective in mental poise, in sense of proportion, his eccentricities perhaps served to introduce new visitors to the wonderland of poetry. Among living American poets the highest place seems to belong to Lloyd Mifflin, the most finished sonneteer ever born out of Europe.

CHAPTER XXI

SIGNIFICANCE OF DEMOCRATIC DATA

With the progress of culture, society becomes a definitely organised power and consciously exerts itself to aid the further development of literature. We have seen that the almost leaderless clan system of primitive man is a necessary consequence of his uncertain wandering life as a hunter. Cibicultural tribes, less dependent upon the apparent whims of nature, obtain a food-supply more easily, and thus a surplus becomes possible. In each village community there is division of labour, which is no longer a matter of sex. More scope is given to individuality, and the stronger secure the food-surplus, becoming definite leaders among their fellows, though still restrained by more or less rigid tribal customs. The economic and consequent political organisation is inevitably reflected in the oral literature of the tribe, for literature is simply the most æsthetic expression of emotion, volition, and conduct.

Again, we have seen that autocratic city-states or nations have arisen in lands near seas or great rivers, in lands that yield an abundant food-supply. The economic surplus is greater than before, and the wealth of the country gravitates toward those who have secured most power. Absolute monarchs are thus enabled to demonstrate their superior rank and wealth in courtly ostentation. There is no longer a group of tribal herdsmen or tillers of the soil, who are warriors at times of scarcely less rank than the richer chief. The monarch and a few leaders are in one rank; the masses of the people are in another. The economic and political situation, or the social organisation as a whole, has not crushed but guided the feelings of the

people. The more gifted naturally enough turn to the hymn and the epic in honour of the autocrat, the autocrat's friends, the heroes and the deities whose deeds have helped to make autocracy possible. That is to say, the hymn and the epic of autocracy are purely functional phenomena.

Finally, in democracy we see that economic activity, more varied than ever before, is partially reflected in and transcended by literary forms, old and new. The more enterprising members of society visit other lands in person or in thought. Discovering new modes of earning a living, some of them store up a considerable surplus. These enterprising and thoughtful men are no longer content to accept their opinions solely upon authority, and they at length find followers who for one reason or another help to discard autocratic rule. The general attitude of the social group is in favour of self-reliance, and this is speedily manifested in new ideas, new inventions, new industries, new forms of literature. This, in brief, seems to be the philosophy of democratic literature, the acme of humanism.

a. Drama

It is a truism that mimicry, which is essential to acted drama, is a characteristic of mankind everywhere. Pantomime in the form of the mimetic dance has a strong hold of the hunting tribes. It would be interesting enough to trace the variants of the dumb show among the African Akkas and others, in ancient Rome and medieval Italy, in the pantomimic ballet of France and other lands, in the British Isles at Christmas mingled with burlesque elements, or incidentally in modern vaudeville. The puppet-play makes its first appearance among the cibicultural tribes, and the masque enters the realm of letters under aristocratic auspices. Consideration of the evolution of the regular

drama has been postponed until the present chapter, because the legitimate drama attains its loftiest literary triumphs under democratic encouragement.

Tribal Drama

It is needless to recapitulate the arguments advanced in the eighth chapter. It is sufficient to recall that drama seems to have been derived from the art of dancing, that the Kwai and Australian hunters have Mystery Plays, while the Semang and the Fuegians have a sort of folk-drama, and the Eskimo have both dramatic forms. It is significant that the lowliest dramas in existence are related to religion. Sacred beings or mythic ancestors are impersonated through dance and gesture mingled with speech and music. The motive of one of the Eskimo types of drama is ceremonious homage to the spirits of slain game-animals.

The drama of barbarism is virtually identical with that of primitive man, the difference being in degree rather than in kind. In Africa the Cammas strive to appease the woodland deities, the Wanyamwezi have their witch-doctor performance, and ghosts seize the hero of the Zulu diviner's dance. In Oceania the Maoris had the elements of comedy and tragedy in their erotic, military, and ceremonial dances, while the Nanga mysteries are a sort of Fijian tragedy. In Asia the Besisi have festal dances during which they chant to tribal ancestors as well as to harmful beasts and demons, while in some of their mimetic dances the men recite poetic lines after the chief. Here is a definite literary element. The Todas have performances of diviners or devil-dancers, and the Ainu bear-feast is similar to the beast-drama of the Eskimo. In America the Hypurinas also have outdoor dance-dramas connected with animals. The Mystery Plays of the Zuñi are highly specialised, concerning themselves

with mythic and legendary representations, which are believed to induce the superhuman powers to send rain and other blessings upon the tribe. The Cherokee dances are also symbolic invitations to the beneficent potencies to deliver the tribesmen from evil.

Tribal evidence is therefore practically unanimous in its indication that the earliest dramas were representations of homage to bestial, human, or divine spirits through whom good might be secured or evil averted. Assurance of benefit would tend toward gaiety or comedy; awe of malevolence would tend toward tragic imitation. Besisi and Zuñi dramatic exhibitions employ conventional phraseology, and are by no means unliterary.

The Three Unities

Of the three unities known to the formal drama of Greece the tribesmen unconsciously acknowledge two, namely, unity of action and unity of place. Tribal drama cares nothing about unity of time, the Hellenic convention which requires that all the events of the play must occur within twenty-four hours. It does try, however, to have reasonable coherence in the working out of the plot, and in general it confines itself to familiar scenes. Unity of action, of course, is a universal requirement of dramatic impersonation, yet it seems a pity that certain playwrights of modern Europe should have given up the freedom of earlier times in favour of classical restrictions, which arose from conditions peculiar to the Greek theatre and its manner of reaching the public.

Autocratic Drama

If the records of autocratic drama are scarcely complete, still sufficient is known to justify the belief that tribal drama did not die out, though for a time its

progress was retarded or overshadowed by the more fashionable narrative poetry. In Babylonia were folk-dances and songs, concerned with the joys and the sorrows of lowly people; whereas king and priest contributed to the dignity of liturgic ceremonies, which from the spectacular standpoint were virtually a sort of religious drama. In lieu of the theatre was the temple, foreshadowed by such esoteric arrangements as those of the American Zuñi. Hindu drama, apparently springing from the dance, might have had as its immediate predecessor the ritual drama connected with Krishna. Mimetic dance-songs set forth the legendary deeds of Krishna and others. With the palace in place of a theatre the secular drama excludes tragedy, while the royal protagonist figures amidst copious mythology and legend. Ancient Egypt had popular dancing and music as well as a sacred ballet, besides informal liturgic drama in the guise of temple ritual. In the Osirian passion-play not only the priests but the laity played their part. Homeric Greece had festivals, both sacred and secular. The people appreciated the charm of dance and song, and the dramatic element clings to the incomparable style of Homer himself.

In autocratic as in tribal drama we behold a kinship with religion. The themes are mythic and legendary, not only in some of the popular dance-songs but in the ritualistic and the later secular drama. The prestige of histrionic art is derived mainly from the fact that drama is a vivid portrayal of episodes or aspirations that are referable to gods and heroes. As compared with the plays of the tribes those of autocracy are more stately, more coherent, more filled with the literary spirit. Even as the Zuñi Mysteries are much more poetic than those of the Australian and other hunting tribes, so the Indo-Aryan drama surpasses that of the American tribe in technique and in style, if not in imagination.

Democratic Drama

Had democratic government never evolved, the greatest glories of dramatic art would never have blossomed. If democratic drama lays less stress upon nature, it lays more stress upon human nature than the plays of autocracy. Though the modern scene-painter and stage manager have succeeded in heightening the illusion of reality, yet it was Greece that first erected theatres for the amusement and instruction of her people and the enlightenment of the world. Democratic drama is linked with civic rather than courtly life, since the comparatively narrow bounds of a city inevitably evoke daily observation and analysis of many types of human character. The democracy of Athens and of later European cities, elated by a sense of political and social liberty, could scarcely be expected to find unalloyed pleasure in literary modes that were in vogue among their forefathers.

Genesis of Attic Tragedy

The Attic democracy began to lean toward the worship of Dionysos, because he seemed much more approachable than the aristocratic Zeus and his comrades. Although the Dionysiac dithyrambs caught the fancy of the people prior to the culmination of Attic tragedy, antecedence is not in itself an efficient cause. Tragedy seems to have had its genesis in the Dorian village chorals, which were imported to Athens along with the cult of Dionysos. Among these verses were the goat-choruses whose members disguised themselves as satyrs during the vintage feasts in order to impersonate the god's attendants.

Essence of Attic Tragedy

Attic tragedy is a lofty poetic exposition of Dionys-

iac worship, set in a framework of heroic legend, and set forth by a chorus of citizens assisted by actors of talent. Beyond doubt Thespis had precursors, yet tragic poetry virtually began with him. This is true even when it is admitted that Homeric dialogue is sometimes more dramatic than earlier Thespian tragedy, and that heroic themes had been celebrated by the dithyrambic choral singers at Sicyon. One of the innovations of Thespis was the singling out of the leader from the rest of the chorus. The new *rôle* of the leader was epic recitation as prelude and interlude for the choric portion of the performance.

Not only were the plays of the Attic stage so devised as to enlist public sympathy, but the people themselves took part through the members of the chorus. Thespis and others had done excellent and necessary work, but when Aeschylus began to compose, the drama was ennobled by genius of the highest rank. Blending the Doric chorus with the iambic recitation of Ionia he employed these as a vehicle for epic themes. Within the mythic framework he sketched details according to the dictates of his own artistic sense. Aeschylus felt free even to delineate low life at times, although Greek comedy was never confused with tragedy. Tragedy was therefore a natural outcome of old elements under new conditions. In combining artistically the Dorian chorus and Ionian iambics, the old epic recitation, didactic verse as well as melic poetry, the dramatic poet produced a resultant that was distinctive and immortal.

Satyric Drama

The cult of Dionysos seems to have been familiar in northern Peloponnesus, when the rural dithyramb was sung by choruses that mimicked the supposed manners of the god's retainers, who were known as satyrs. Athens made the acquaintance of the satyric

dithyramb through Pratinas, who with other poets employed it as a supplement to tragedy. It would have appeared safe to predict the ultimate union of satyric drama and comedy, and yet the former was always in conjunction with tragedy.

In the *Cyclops* of Euripides the hero is Odysseus. The dramatist does not try to lower the status of his hero, although the latter is attended by a satyric chorus whose verses savour somewhat of the rustic dithyramb. Odysseus fares almost as well as if he appeared in tragic drama, whereas Silenus and the satyrs exhibit indolence, inebriety, and other forms of extravagance. There is a tinge of humour in Aeschylus and Euripides, and yet no Greek play exhibits the contrasts of a Shakespeare. Satyric drama began to decay when Euripides produced the *Alcestis,* a tragedy with comic features.

Comedy

It has already been suggested that the Thersites of the *Iliad* is an informal character sketch which anticipates later Greek comedy. Both tragedy and comedy reached comparative perfection among the Ionians, but the distinctive features of both are in a measure traceable to the Dorians. Aristotle pointed out [1] that comedians may have been so named because they used to wander through Dorian villages or *komai.* Though the comedy of the Dorians arose earlier than that of the Ionians, yet its development was extensive rather than intensive.

In the democracy of Athens conditions were ripe for the progress of comedy. Both tragedy and comedy were connected with the cult of Dionysos, but tragedy was the first to attain prominence because it received the formal recognition of the State. Comedy, on the other hand, was generally mere by-play, until its politi-

[1] *Poetics,* iii. 3.

cal and social possibilities became apparent. Democratic freedom really had always a leaning toward the freedom and personal character of comedy, although the majesty of tragedy was the more fitting embodiment of Athenian glory.

Later Stages of Greek Comedy

Prior to the time of Pericles comedy was largely impromptu and inartistic. Iambic buffoonery served as incidental amusement during Dionysiac festivities. Cratinus discarded iambic repartee, and Aristophanes further raised comedy to a position above the old farce of Megara, freeing it from the more glaring crudities. The dialogue of Aristophanes is brilliant, and he did not hesitate to parody the three great tragic poets and to caricature anyone who incurred his displeasure. In his earlier comedies he sometimes ventured to offer advice in political matters. Middle Comedy was less daring; classes rather than individuals were lashed with ridicule. The chorus gradually disappeared. In the New Comedy of Menander social rather than political topics became popular on the stage. Some of the types of modern comedy had their birth at this period. It was this style of comedy that was adopted and adapted by the Roman comedy-writers Plautus and Terence.

The Hegelian Analysis

We are not directly concerned with the defects in Hegel's *Aesthetik,* but rather with one or two of the positive and more valid results of his searching analysis of tragedy. In his judgment the really tragic fact is self-division, the conflict of man's spirit with itself, not so much the fight of good against evil as good against good. Subjectivity is the leading characteristic of modern sentiment and of modern art. For

instance, what attracts us in the personality of Macbeth is its struggle, not with an external spiritual power, but with the warring elements of his own disposition. It is for this reason that the themes of modern tragedy are more varied than those of the ancients. Attention to individuality brings out complexities that would otherwise lie hidden. The modern keynote is struck in *Julius Cæsar:* "Men, at some times, are masters of their fates."

Current Drama

Instead of tracing the regress and progress of drama from classical to modern times, a task that has been ably performed more than once, it may suffice to suggest that there is no occasion to grow despondent concerning the democratic drama of to-day. Although some modern plays are weak in plot, commonplace in detail, and of little or no literary value, the world is not without dramatic artists of merit. Time will ruthlessly separate the chaff from the wheat. Meanwhile let us ignore transient follies, and enjoy those noble plays that attract the more serious actors and audiences of higher civilisation.

b. Lyric

As everyone knows, artistic lyric seeks to express a poet's personal feelings in metre that is more or less responsive to his varying moods; whereas primitive choral verse, simpler and more crude, had often to express the feelings of many through the lowly composition of an improviser who was speedily forgotten. It would be both interesting and profitable to trace the evolution of the world's songs, odes, and sonnets, of lyric in its various forms, but each of these classes would demand a lengthy monograph. Instead of overloading this volume with a mass of detail, it may

serve our purpose equally well if we try to follow the evolution of metrical satire, which is a characteristic form of democratic lyric. Most lyrics have dealt with hating and loving, jeering or praising, and it makes but little difference which of these attitudes is singled out for discussion under one literary type. The one usually involves the other; in a measure they are correlative.

Tribal Satire

The ninth chapter contains a brief analysis of primitive satire, the principles of which appear in more artistic form among cibicultural tribes. The metrical satire of the immured Zulu, mentioned in chapter eleven, is more subtle and allusive than any effort of the hunting tribes. The warlike taunt and the personal lampoon of the Maoris show no little knowledge of human nature, and the former has imagery that is varied and poetic. The veiled satire of the Cherokee love-charm would be impossible to primitive man.

As soon as satire rises above that clan stage in which it was born, it assumes two main forms between which it oscillates all through its literary career. On a lower plane it is subjective, on a higher it is objective, but it has a strong bias toward the former. In its beginnings satire is purely personal. A certain one becomes an object of scorn in the eyes of his clan; but as culture becomes higher, satire grows more goodnatured, dealing with classes or conditions rather than with individuals. In other words, it assumes the genial aspect of philosophy. But why does satire tend to revert to the stage of primitive personalities? Because it has a two-edged blade, one for the victim and one for his rival, and few there be that have saved themselves from self-wounding and consequent anger.

Autocratic Satire

A sense of the ridiculous is vivid enough under aristocratic governments, though it was not apt to be directed against the priests and potentates of Ancient Egypt, Homeric Greece, and other lands similarly situated. Among the sarcastic buffoonery of ancient days may be mentioned that which linked itself with the phallic feasts of Egypt, but it has not yet been proved that this ever became literary satire.[2] If the *Margites* is the earliest recorded example of Greek satiric poetry, the presumption is that the iambic or lampooning measure was in use long before.[3] The *Margites* is commended because it deals with the ludicrous rather than with personal satire.[4] It is unnecessary to discuss the early *silloi.* Aristotle regards personal satire as a low art-form, not because it stirs up scandal, but because it represents the particular instead of the universal.[5]

Democratic Satire

Attention has already been called to the satire contained in Attic comedy. More than any nation of antiquity the Romans developed literary satire, whose very name is borrowed from *Satura,* which at the outset appears to have been a farce of the Etruscan rustics.[6] At first it did not differ essentially from the Campanian *Atellana* or the impromptu Fescennine verses.[7] In earlier days the *Satura* (mixture) was a folk-show made up of songs, stories, and jests; but in the time of Lucilius the people began to extend the

[2] Herodotus, ii. 58.
[3] Aristotle, *Poetics,* iv. 8.
[4] *Ib.,* iv. 9.
[5] *Laws,* xi. 935 E; *Poetics,* ix. 5.
[6] Livy, vii. 2. Cf. Horace, *Epp.,* ii. 1, 139 ff.
[7] Catullus (lxi. 114 ff.) alludes to the Fescennines at wedding ceremonies when the boys lift torches in the air and cry *Io Hymen Hymenaee io,* while walnuts are scattered among the crowd.

name to what the poet himself called *Sermones* (conversations). His new literary method reached the hearts of his contemporaries, and thus written literature again asserted its vitality.

Improving upon his model Lucilius, the genius of Horace asserted itself in artistic irony. Horace in his *Satires* eliminated much of the coarseness that in ancient days was never far away from metrical banter, and the world could listen to humorous verse that was universal in its appeal. His native good sense was doubtless polished by the training he received at Athens, and in the world's political capital he had abundant opportunity for studying human nature. He accepted the Greek ideal that the true human life is a poise or balance, and that to maintain that balance is the art of life. Following Horace were the temperate Persius, the caustic Juvenal, and the epigrammatic Martial.

Medieval European satire, oral and written, was common enough everywhere in song and in story. It bursts forth into scorn or laughter, is coarse or refined, personal or impersonal, passionate or philosophic, according to the temper of the age and the temperament of the artist. In most countries it is partly native and partly an imitation of Latin poetry. As distinguished from the satire of ancient Rome that of medieval times is more varied and more democratic. The invective of democratic poets clusters mainly around the free cities, and among its chief themes are the nobility and the clergy. Dante in Italy, the Meistersingers in Germany, Jean de Meung and Villon in France, Langland and Dunbar in Britain are representatives of the metrical satire of those times.

If the metrical satire of modern democracy in general does not eclipse the artistry of Horace, at all events it shows a wonderful variety of theme and of treatment. Juan Ruiz in Spain, Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, Aretino in Italy, Mottin and Berthelot in

France are among the best of the earlier writers. In later years Heine in Germany and Béranger in France did work that might have pleased the satirists of the ancient Roman Republic. In Britain there is a great advance from Butler's *Hudibras* to Dryden and Pope, the former of whom acknowledged his obligations to Boileau. Burns was excelled by no satiric verse-writer of his day. The semi-cynical Byron is about the last of the great satiric poets of England, though Hood and Browning are at times noteworthy. Holmes and others represent the United States of America.

Modern Offshoots

As a distinct literary *genre* satiric poetry is doomed, though satire will smile or pout or frown as long as human nature remains comparatively unchanged. Prose, however, has become the favourite vehicle of both the ironical and the irenical attitude. As substitutes for the older satiric verse we observe the witty essays of monthly and quarterly magazines, the political and social squibs of daily newspapers, and the sketches with pen or pencil in comic journals.

Decay of Satiric Verse

There are reasons for the evident decay of sarcastic poetry. In the first place most of the possibilities have been exhausted in the course of the last three thousand years or more, and men grow weary of a tune that is sung too often on the same keynote. Secondly, the brutal personal satire is no longer in fashion, because we flatter ourselves that we are somewhat more civilised than our forefathers. Men are becoming more humane, and they prefer to reserve poetry for finer issues. Thirdly, the cosmopolitan spirit is spreading. Commerce is binding mankind more closely and breaking down international prejudices, while the introduc-

tion of the elements of philosophy among the masses is teaching many people that personal invective is apt to be suicidal, unless its sting is removed by good humour.

Synopsis

The origin, development, and decay of metrical satire is an evolution in characterisation, which is merely a way of remarking that the individual is becoming of more and more importance. In the clan or kin stage of society the individual counts for little, and the choral satire with its dance accompaniment is an overt attack of all upon one. When the clan or village group advances in knowledge of the world, it begins to show a sense of fair play, and the contest in sarcasm is confined to the principals who sing mocking challenges to an instrumental accompaniment, while at intervals the rest of the community chant the familiar clan refrain, finally deciding the quarrel by their laughter or jeering exclamations.

When the communities grow larger through natural increase or by mingling with others, chieftains arise and class distinctions appear. Satire reflects this stage by losing most of the earlier characteristics. The size of the community makes the old choral dance difficult and then impossible, and satire begins to be directed against classes of men.

When cities begin to be built by the more enterprising persons who resent the domination of the chiefs, satire also tends to forget its rural nature and nurture. Civic satire, such as that of Rome, becomes literary because it enjoys its first opportunity of beholding many types of character, and this naturally leads to breadth of view, insight, sympathy, urbanity. It is employed to heal as well as to lacerate.

Finally, stripped of nearly all its early communal features—dance, improvisation, instrumental music,

the coöperation of the crowd—satire grows more refined, more humane, more considerate of the individual, losing itself in the witticism of society verse, the goodnatured magazine essay, or the playfulness of comic journalism. Inasmuch as the present is only a transformed embodiment of the past, some of the earlier features may at times assert themselves alongside the very highest; but no longer is the metrical satire lyrical, no longer is it a mere vehicle of vengeance, no longer is it a distinct literary *genre*. Society recognises that more strands bind men together than ever before, and that freedom implies freedom for all to live up to the best of which they are capable. In short, society is beginning to find better ways of dealing with the faults and the follies of her children.

c. Epic

It has already been observed that epic poetry reached its acme under the magnetism of autocratic ideas. For a time autocracy was an efficient mode of securing and maintaining that political and social coherence which, within certain limits, is essential to human progress. The epic songs of Russia, for instance, though they have never been fused into a great epic,[8] are more in harmony with much of Slavic thought than they would be in a democratic country. Under modern democracy we are not sufficiently unsophisticated to be able to appreciate epic poetry as keenly as did many peoples in bygone days. The artistic charm of a great epic poem is imperishable, yet it lacks the former vital relationship to national life because social conditions have altered. When the analytic mind seeks to depict national glory, it prefers the prose of history to the poetry of epic.[9]

[8] A sympathetic scholar, however, might do for them what was done when the Finnish runes were shaped into the *Kalevala*.

[9] Firdawsi, drawing upon genuine historical records rather than myth and legend, composed the *Shah-Namah*, which Persians are willing to regard as the national epic.

No one will deny that Virgil's *Aeneid* is one of the world's noblest epics, yet it was conceived under circumstances totally different from those under which the *Iliad* was produced. The *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, the *Lusiad* of Camoens, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton, and the *Messias* of Klopstock are splendid modern epics; yet they are less spontaneous than those of ancient days, less popular than the Eddic lays of medieval Scandinavia, and it would be difficult for any literary genius to compose one of them in the present day. It is not that men are degenerating; their tastes differ from those of their ancestors. Reverence for the past is content with dramatic and lyric poetry or with history and prose romance.

d. Prose

We have already observed that tribal prose is oral, appearing among the hunters as mythic recitation, among the cibicultural tribes as recitation and oratory. When prose is first recorded among autocratic peoples, it is jejune as compared with poetry. Not until the democratic spirit enters society does written prose begin to attain the naturalness with which it is associated in modern minds. Trained as we are in the use of written prose from childhood, it is difficult to bring home to our imagination the astounding fact that the world had to wait for thousands of years until Herodotus and Thucydides lifted history, for instance, into the realm of literary art.

An invention, whether in the world of matter or in that of mind, survives only when it meets or creates a general demand. How true it is that every advance in prose, or in any other department of human thought, begins with an individual. One man of inventive genius, of analytic mind, of constructive imagination, strikes out a path for himself, and numerous disciples

imitate or improve upon the master. If he is a writer, he inaugurates a style or a literary method congenial to his contemporaries, and a conscious or unconscious mimicry begets many an echo.

Autocracy insists that the individual exists for the State, whereas democracy brings out the complementary truth that the State exists for the individual. Such an atmosphere is an incentive to inventiveness. Greek democracy institutes genuine political history, and Cicero shows how letters should be composed. Dante and Boccaccio do for Italian prose what Luther does for German. France invents memoirs, and Spain the picaresque novel. Montaigne virtually writes the first essay; Cervantes exhibits the possibilities of humorous prose. The newspaper and the periodical magazine are born, and prose allegory is employed in many ways and in new guises. Bacon and Descartes lay the foundation of modern philosophy. Dramatic prose, books of travel, literary criticism, prose satire, the novel of real life, and historical romance do not by any means exhaust the list of new departures in prose alone.

Prose Fiction

Few will deny that during the last century prose fiction and journalism are the dominant literary types. Prose fiction is really the latest form of the unmetrical narrative of primitive tribes. Primitive prose narrative is unconscious romance, the prototype of the novel with a purpose, for it is recited in order to instruct in tribal philosophy as well as to amuse the listeners. Barbaric prose, consisting of oral legends and fables and fairy tales, is not always so serious in motive, though as a rule more artistic in construction. Ancient autocracy offers the earliest recorded specimen of tales concerning travel or enchantment, yet there were doubtless many popular tales that no scribe deemed worthy

of his profession. Princes and other notables hold the attention. The oldest prose romances of Europe are the Keltic traditional stories. Mainly autocratic, the medieval romances are usually at home in the vicinity of court and castle.

It is not until democratic government is instituted that prose fiction begins to occupy a prominent place in literary art. Stories of the people and by the people are first recorded in the free cities of medieval Europe, and in Spain and other lands such stories become fashionable under the guise of the picaresque novel. The vagabond hero is indicative of a satirical reaction against the tale of chivalry with its proud lords and ladies. Finally, there springs up the form of prose fiction known to modern democracy, in which the narrative is but a framework for more or less minute delineation of character, gentle and simple.

The novel occupies its high place in modern literature because the great artist discloses the universal through the particular. The ancient drama of Europe represents the struggle of man with external forces, as modern drama strives to depict man's conflict with internal forces, with the mingled elements of his own nature. So the ancient and the medieval tale is usually concerned with adventures of the great people of earth; whereas the modern novel is wider in sympathy, keener in characterisation, eager to lay bare those feelings and motives whose outcome, for good or for evil, is revealed in the daily routine of society.

History and prose romance have a common aim, though their method is dissimilar. Each strives to depict the past in such a way that we are able to understand the present more clearly. Contingencies of custom, of costume, or of speech, do not conceal the oneness of human nature all through the ages. When this principle is brought out by the historical romancer who achieves a happy compromise between antiquarian

accuracy and creative imagination, the reader is more ready to condone the limitations of bygone days and to cast the mantle of charity over his fallible fellowmen. Humanity is to be uplifted by positive ideals rather than by denunciation.

Journalism

Both the daily newspaper and the periodical magazine first appear under democratic auspices, yet as in the case of all other inventions they have their prototypes. Tribal communities obtain and issue news orally. The lowlier hunters are dependent upon items gathered casually from each other, other tribes, or from travellers, traders, and missionaries. In addition to these informal reporters the more advanced tribes employ couriers or special correspondents, whose duty it is to convey news of importance to a powerful chief or to a neighboring tribe.

In autocratic communities the art of writing enables the courier to carry news in a precise and concise form. The clay cuneiforms of Babylonia and the papyri of ancient Egypt illustrate the fact that international news was not infrequently borne to a monarch or an influential nobleman, through whom it might be disseminated among the people in general. Such news items, usually political in character, were not devoid of those embellishments which courtesy dictates everywhere.

Italy may claim to be the homeland of the newspaper. The *Acta Diurna* of ancient Rome embraced reports of current events, political, military, social. Written out by public officials, copies were occasionally exhibited in conspicuous parts of the city or despatched to generals in other parts of the empire. The oldest daily newspaper in existence belongs to Pekin. From the eighth century of our era the *Tching-pao* has been

issued by the Chinese government to officials and to regular subscribers.

The modern newspaper, however, is not directly traceable to either the Roman or the Chinese empire. In medieval times proclamations were made orally through public criers appointed by civic authority, and written notices were sometimes posted in public places. It was the invention of printing that made journalism a possibility. Early in the sixteenth century news sheets were issued in various European cities, and a century later the news pamphlet began to give place to the regularly published journal.

Everyone is aware that many of the greatest writers of Europe and America have received literary training in the sphere of journalism. By their insistence upon comprehensive brevity the newspaper and the magazine have put out of fashion those stupendous productions that some medieval authors were pleased to compose. Journalism is not merely indispensable to society as a whole, but it has done honourable work in encouraging the creation and reception of literature.

In registering and in moulding public opinion the daily press is by far the most potent literary influence of modern times. It is for this reason that freedom of the press is unknown in countries that do not enjoy a democratic mode of government. As a rule journalism is conspicuous for variety and accuracy of theme as well as for catholicity of spirit. Most of the older abuses have disappeared with the advent of cultured editors and contributors who decline to sacrifice truth upon the altar of partisanship. Every good journal is not merely an invaluable record of current history, but in educating the masses it is a loyal colleague of the professional instructor and the literary artist.

CHAPTER XXII

PROVISIONAL LAWS

NUMERICALLY there has been a steady decrease in the foregoing cultural divisions. No important hunting tribe has been omitted. The primitive tribes have been more fully discussed than the barbaric, not because their literature is of greater intrinsic value, but because in a manner it constitutes the foundation upon which the whole argument is erected. Again, the barbaric tribes have received a more extended notice than the autocratic nations, since the literature of the former is oral and therefore stands in need of systematic record. Furthermore, the study of the literature of autocracy has been more intensive than that of democracy, inasmuch as the latter is relatively so well known that salient specimens and elaborate criticism seem unnecessary. In short, this is a record not of literary history but of literary evolution.

THE PSYCHICAL BASIS

It is fairly evident that the preceding cultural divisions do not primarily rest upon a material basis. The background of each division is the reflective consciousness, for sensations apart from thought have no existence in our experience. All will admit that man does in the visible world what he has first done in the invisible world of thought. Since man's earliest and most insistent thought is connected with the food-quest, the economic factor at once enters into his life, simultaneously involving and evoking religious, political, and social functions. All of these are faithfully, if not completely, reflected in his oral or written literature. Thus upon a psychical basis rest the fore-

going coördinate variables—economic, religious, political, social, and æsthetic—each acting and reacting upon the others.

The Hierarchy of Science

Chance is the name given to a cause or a result that man has failed to fathom. We are unable to conceive of an event which could not be explained, if we had sufficient knowledge. Science is systematized knowledge based upon accurate observation under the guidance of reason. Each of the sciences comprises a world of abstraction, but experience has shown that unless man limits the scope of his inquiry, he will attain little success. Even the circumscribed sphere of the oldest sciences contains many an unsolved problem, yet the victories already won are a constant source of encouragement to those who are patiently engaged in research. Such victories are invariably the result of lines of inquiry which presuppose the uniformity of Nature.

The transitions from mathematics to mechanics, from mechanics to biology, from biology to anthropology, disclose problems that become more numerous and more intricate. Mathematics is an evolution of necessary ideas. It treats of the measurement of quantities, whose properties and relations are to be ascertained. In the hierarchy of science we proceed from laws of relation to those of force, from force to life, from life to sensation and consciousness, and each step involves the application of new principles of explanation.[1] Anthropology, the science of man, is the

[1] As Lord Kelvin, the distinguished physicist, once observed: "The forces, principles, energies, or other abstractions in use among physicists are not adequate for even a formal explanation of biological evolution." In passing from biology to anthropology, his words are more emphatic: "It is not in dead matter that we live and move and have our being, but in the creating and directive power which science compels us to accept as an article of belief. We are absolutely forced by science to admit and believe in a directive power—in an influence other than physical, dynamical, and electrical forces."

most difficult of all, because the element of volition complicates the problems that are to be solved. We cannot suppose, however, that any part of the life of rational beings is really irrational or inexplicable. Intelligence is bound to be intelligible, and anthropology is under the reign of law, though this does not mean that there is one kind of law in every science. If biology is to be put on the same plane as anthropology, then scientific criticism becomes literary Darwinism, totally inadequate for the explanation of human activities.

We shall now restrict our attention to that branch of anthropology which is commonly known as literature. What are the principles or laws that underlie the philosophy or science of literary art? Until these can be formulated, it is needless to look for stability in the scientific study of literature.

Words of Caution

Before attempting to formulate laws of literatology it is desirable that all of us should employ the social or historical imagination; indeed without disciplined imagination as an aid to reason, no philosophy or science could exist for a moment. It is not enough to collect and arrange pertinent facts that have been observed at all grades of culture, nor yet is it sufficient to submit generalisations so comprehensive that they shall explain rather than explain away the phenomena under consideration. Human nature is so constituted that it is sometimes inclined to be suspicious of what seems new, forgetting that the new is always in reality the offspring of the old.

It is no doubt difficult for a man of high culture to see any connection between the mimetic dance of African pygmies and the drama of a Shakespeare or a Lope de Vega, between the rude inarticulate chorus of a hunting tribe and the lyric of a Heine or a Hugo, be-

tween the mythic doggerel of primitive man and an *Iliad* or an *Aeneid*, between the artless tale of an Australian blackfellow and the prose of a Boccaccio or a Balzac. And yet the differences that separate men sink into relative insignificance before that one supreme bond, the self-consciousness of all mankind. Neither physically nor mentally is the zoölogical genus *Homo* to be mistaken for any of the other genera of the animal kingdom.

Not only so, but there is an observable sequence in any literary genus like the lyric. Artistically there is a world of difference between the one-word verse of African hunters and the poetry of a cultured man like Poe. Genetically, however, there is a resemblance which may be clearly seen in the *Raven*. The " Nevermore " of this familiar poem represents both the form and the chief theme, for each stanza is but an elaboration or variation of the key-word. Indeed, every work of art is based upon the same principle, a central thought to which every other is subordinated, a sort of mnemonic peg upon which all pertinent details are hung, a centre of orientation with reference to which the work in its entirety is given distinctive character. When the painter tries to reproduce a landscape on canvas, he groups the material according to his apprehension of the scene as a whole. Whatever charms his attention longest is brought into such prominence that an observer of his painting will first see the principal theme. The hunting tribes chant a principal theme, the subordinate elements of which may be expressed through dance and gesture rather than through words, and these subsidiary elements may vary with the mood of the ethnic group or its units. The barbaric tribes as well as the autocratic and democratic nations are also obliged to have a central thought in their works of literary art, the elaboration and diction increasing in beauty and potency with the degree of ad-

vancement attained by the society to which the artist belongs. At every plane of culture the literary method is virtually identical.

The significant fact is, not that primitive man has only oral literature, but that he has anything which possesses the remotest resemblance to literature. Man is the only creature that lives in an artificial environment produced by his own volition. It is the spirit behind his humble efforts that distinguishes the Kwai from the beasts that he hunts. The dog has been associated with man longer than any other animal, yet neither he nor the most capable ape has ever spontaneously evolved pantomime or impromptu song or mythic narrative. If sincerely and sympathetically we strive to find the philosophy of the hunter's lowly efforts toward self-expression, it may be easier for us to comprehend the essential oneness of the human spirit. The most superficial observer may detect the differential points of a red man and a yellow, a black man and a white; but a disciplined mind is never content with appearances. Everyone soon learns that "all is not gold that glitters"; we are more reluctant to learn that

> "There is some soul of goodness in things evil
> Would men observingly distil it out."

It may be urged, however, that to attempt the reduction of human activities to one or more laws is to ignore the freedom of man's will. Does anyone really believe that the human will is irrational, as it must be if it is incapable of explanation? There is surely no denial of man's spiritual nature, when we strive to throw light upon its activities. Does not every rational being submit cheerfully to the laws of thought, for instance, whether he ever heard of them or not? The philosopher or the scientist who reduces the chaos of phenomena to the order of law is not ignoring fact in

favour of speculation, which may be wrong; he is simply passing from one aspect of truth to another. If his premises are adequate and accurate, and his use of them is valid, his conclusion is not merely correct but illuminating. He is carried beyond accidental resemblances and differences to the very essence of the phenomena or process, which is under consideration.

Again, it may be urged that if the meaningless chant of a Botocudo in the Brazilian forest is literature, immediate definition seems imperative. Are we to define literature by looking for some external attribute which the Botocudo chorus shares with Pindar and Goethe? The answer must be negative. Even were we to state the common attribute, our definition would be fallacious because it would overlook the fact that each is representative of vastly different stages in one process of development. The lowliest must be taken into account in any real definition of literature, but no definition is satisfactory that omits what is characteristic of primitivism or of barbarism, of autocracy or of democracy. We need a principle that accounts for the organic unity and evolution of literature.

Now a principle so comprehensive is most likely to be revealed in the loftiest rather than the lowliest of literary products. No one could possibly define a man by merely observing an infant. Of course, the undeveloped forms are essential parts of the whole, yet they gain their real meaning only in the light of their highest fulfilment. Rousseau was not the only thinker who assumed that the nearer we get to simple experience and concepts, the nearer we are to reality. The truth is that the intrinsic value of primitive verse is conversely proportional to its nearness to unhuman or irrational nature.

From the external viewpoint the tribal insistence

upon definite rhythm, upon that measured rhythm which we call metre, scarcely justifies us in assuming that poetry is simply a branch of mathematics. We need a higher synthesis, which estimates the absolute value of poetry or of prose by the criterion of realised potentiality. Thus we may discern, embracing all literature, a principle in whose light time and place are relegated to the category of accident.

First Law

The Law of Progress may be stated thus: *Under similar conditions the average literary advance in a given community is directly proportional to the width and depth of man's attainment of consciousness of self and of the world.*

This is simply a way of saying that man's aspirations or ideals, as æsthetically expressed in words, vary with the extent of his culture, vary with that self-culture which reveals itself in nature-conquest, in relating all apprehensible things to his inner nature, in unifying the world with himself. For every rational being there are three leading factors in life—self, not-self, and the ideal unification of both. Every man is aware of that inner world called mind, the outer world of matter, and an unrest which urges him toward the pursuit of happiness in one guise or another. The apparent chaos of facts and events, past and present, is reducible to these three by the reflective consciousness. They are really a trinity, inseparable from each other, linked by causal interaction. It is the rational mind alone that gives them meaning.

What does the Vedda, for instance, mean by dancing in a circle, chanting to ancestral ghosts? If he were an idiot, he would long ago have been annihilated in his struggle against the speed, the cunning, or the courage of the animals that he pursues. Superficially his sole desire seems to be for food to stay the pangs

of hunger, and yet he is an unconscious idealist. The ideal or universal element is present in disguise. He is conscious of self, of the outer world in which he dwells, and of another world which is superhuman. The joys and sorrows of the hunter's daily life to some extent make him feel that he is not identical with his fellows, that in a sense his own life is a thing apart, and this drives him to bury the vague thought by seeking new inspiration in the festal dance-chorus. It is upon such occasions, in the rhythmic swayings of the clan dance with its concomitant verse, that primitive man feels that life has a kind of unity. The rude chorus, insignificant enough from the standpoint of technique and thought, is expressive of a principle that appears to knit each man with his fellows and with nature, and thus dimly prefigures the ideal which man's very existence implies. Is not that, after all, the ultimate aim of all literature, even the highest?

It is true that a clear consciousness of the ego, of the non-ego, and of the harmonising ideal comes only to the man whose rational nature has been highly developed; yet it is equally true that all three exist in a measure for every man who has sense enough to tell the difference between himself and his neighbour. In spite of his crudeness, his apparent brutishness, primitive man at times unwittingly rises above the impressions of sense, above the sordid particular toward the universal, and it is at such moments that he creates or shares in the communal dance-chant, whose measured tones imperfectly set forth those indistinct strivings for which he is unable to find adequate diction. It is this unconscious spiritual strife that underlies the myth of all the tribes and the homage paid to ghosts, demons, witches, and deified objects of the visible world. It is this quest of the ideal that throbs in every festal dance or clan chorus or incantation; and as man rises in nature-conquest, in self-consciousness, in political and social

culture, in cosmopolitanism, the ideal begins to loom above the horizon of his own inner vision, quickening his entire life until it finds partial satisfaction in the masterpieces of the world of letters.

A brief consideration of the literary treatment of nature may serve to illustrate the constitutive character of the law of progress. All deliberate human effort has the same motive—desire for harmony, one of whose phases involves æsthetics or consciousness of the beautiful. Perceptible or perceived beauty arouses the human organism to functioning that seems to produce inner and outer concord. The selection or creation of objects that best satisfy man's sense of harmony is generally regarded as the work of the artist, literary or otherwise.

Now it is impossible to conceive of a time when nature did not to some extent engage the attention of man, and we may be sure that he has usually been striving to learn more about her. Whether primeval man had a sense of the beautiful or not, our survey of the hunting tribes has brought home to us the truth that body-painting, decoration for the dance-drama, pictography, nature myths, as well as the rhythm and monorime of the simplest choruses, all point to æsthetic endeavour, even if it is sometimes blended with motives of definite social utility.

As a rule primitive man's attitude toward nature is that of watchfulness, prompted by awe or fear. The Akkas of Central Africa, the tribes of Central Australia, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Fuegians and Botocudos of South America, and the Eskimo can scarcely be said to have a love for the spirits or demons or deities that are visible as sky, sun, moon, and stars, or that lurk in the wilderness by night. Occasionally it is dangerous for a wayfarer to be alone with nature after dusk. If primitive man does conceive of sun or moon as a sort of man or woman, he or she is always

endowed with magic qualities that make man feel his inferiority. If at times he appears to triumph over nature in the food-quest, his victory may be preceded by an appeal to ancestral ghosts, as in Ceylon, or it may be followed by an apologetic festival, as in the case of the Eskimo. Although natural phenomena are personified, yet we must remember that the primitive hunter has little or no sense of personality apart from the clan. His thinking is mainly communal, and thus natural phenomena possess the same vague personality as each clansman possesses. He has penetrated into the significance of self as little as he has penetrated into the significance of the world that surrounds him. Nature has primitive human whims, upheld by determinate superhuman power. This is the hunter's mode of idealisation—a dim conception of potency that may be cajoled or circumvented, but at all times is to be regarded with respect.

Again, among barbaric tribes the literary treatment of nature is a function of social organisation. These tribes are less dependent upon nature's moods, because they have learned to till the soil or to domesticate certain animals that used to be hunted. Nature is now less portentous, as may readily be seen in the constant employment of poetic imagery suggested by physical environment. Of course, man is still subordinate to nature, but he has devised incantations and ceremonies that may coax or compel. His deepening consciousness of self, his growing belief in his own power, is a necessary concomitant of his deepening consciousness of the world in which he dwells. If the Camma of West Africa hold a gorilla dance in order to appease forest deities, if the Besisi of the Malay Peninsula chant invocations to the demons that destroy crops, if the Ainu of Japan hold a conciliatory festival by way of homage to the bear, on the other hand most of the cibicultural tribes exhibit deference

toward natural phenomena, largely stripped of the element of fear.

The pastoral poetry of Dinkaland, the Zulu rock that opens and closes at command of men who know the secret, the Maori fairies that may be kidnapped by mortals, the rainmaking of the Fijians and Zuñis, all strike a new note in man's attitude toward nature. Both songs and myths teem with similes and metaphors, borrowed with æsthetic purpose from the geographic features familiar to each community. Fijian and Toda gods are not personifications of nature. The Wanyamwezi chorus to the great sea is without an iota of terror; it was one of the giant ancestors of the Besisi that guarded the pillars of the sky. Man's prevision of harvest coincides with a higher vision of the mother of harvests. Man has drawn nature closer to himself. Understanding her better, he is beginning to appreciate her bounty and beauty, while fear is slowly giving way to gratitude or to admiration.

In the autocratic form of society the aspects under which the physical environment presents itself contain elements which spring from, and coexist with, those of earlier tribal days. Earth seems to have a halo of majesty like that of the absolute monarch, since he or one of his alleged forefathers is supposed to be the pivot of all familiar phenomena. Shamash, the Babylonian sun-god, is judge of heaven and earth, and Marduk consents to fight the dragon of chaos, provided that the other gods acknowledge him as ruler of the universe. Man's growing sense of individuality, asserting itself mainly through the aristocracy, bursts forth in the Adapa legend, whose hero dares to break the wings of the storm-bird. The varied hues of Indian scenery enrich Sanskrit drama and the choicest Vedic hymns, yet the most eloquent descriptions serve only to enhance the dignity of the royal hero or his celestial patrons. Nature is a foil for the action of the auto-

crat. The priest-actors of the Osirian drama, which was associated with the bountiful Nile, have their eye upon the palace as well as the temple. In Homeric Greece heroic chiefs occupy the front of the stage, nature playing a minor rôle. Nature appears to be aiding man in attaining the national ideal—wealth, majesty, beauty. It is the social atmosphere that transforms man's views of self and of nature.

Finally, the varying phases of democratic evolution are unveiled in the literary treatment of nature. Consciousness of the world fluctuates with consciousness of self, and each is coördinately reflected in that form of thought expression which men call letters. The city-states of Greece and Rome were absorbed in civic and commercial expansion, and active city life is not always conducive to a profound interest in scenic grandeur. Even Lucretius seldom submits descriptions of nature for their own sake. Hellenic philosophy, modified by the introduction of a new religion from Asia, began to mould the democracy of western Europe. The material was conceived as inferior to the mental and spiritual, the seen as of less consequence than the unseen, therefore nature could be largely ignored. The Kelts almost alone retained a hearty poetic interest in nature as such, exerting an influence which persistently affected the vernacular literature of the Scottish lowlands. At its inception the classic revival served merely to turn the bulk of European literature back into the conventional channels of antiquity. Europe did not really find itself in nature until Columbus and other voyagers were ready to awaken men's minds to a world bigger far than they had fancied. These discoveries and the later inventions of science gradually assumed literary form.

In his approach to nature the scientist seeks truth, the poet beauty; but it was the work of the former that broadened the outlook of the latter. The result is that

contemporary poetry deals with a greater range of natural phenomena than that of any previous age. Even the most subtle of natural phenomena receive literary interpretation in harmony with the greater complexity of modern social conditions. Far from being stereotyped, the treatment is as varied as the individualities comprised by that freedom of thought which marks the sway of democracy. Man never knew either himself or nature as he does to-day, and this knowledge, which is a direct consequence of his social advancement, is amply revealed in a corresponding literary progress. The best literature now expresses not merely sympathy with man as man, but a sort of brotherly feeling for the great illimitable universe. Ignorance and misconception are trying to hide themselves, and the gulf between man and nature is being bridged. Modern democratic literature seeks to reveal us to ourselves in a better and bigger world of experience, a world that looks almost akin to us through the glamour of literary art.

Thus it is the ego that spans the ravine between itself and nature through the magic of the ideal. It is the ego that becomes more and more free as man rises from primitive life to barbarism, and from barbarism to autocracy, reaching its culmination in democracy. Here for the first time the individual attains self-realisation, attains comparative mastery over nature, which he bends to his own uses. In so doing, he beholds the fulfilment of ideals that open his eyes to those still unattained, thus causing the unrest, the changes, the new forms of all that goes to make up the literary art of democracy. Throughout all of these phases the antagonism between man and nature acts and reacts upon the human spirit, leading humanity under favourable conditions from fear to love, from illusion to understanding, from myth to science, from animism to spirituality, from inarticulate chorus to the lyric of

artistry. In brief, there is an evolution of literature consonant with the human spirit, an evolution whose trend is from casual to causal, from accident to essence, from the patent to the latent, from the particular to the universal.

Second Law

The Law of Initiative may be stated thus: *Every step in literary progress is initiated by individuals, whose success is measured by their own mental individuality and by the readiness of the community to receive as well as to perpetuate the new discovery in form or content.*

True philosophy never puts sole dependence upon any *a priori* method. It is based upon the observation and record of empirical facts. It insists upon consequent generalisations, and supplies us with the means of interpretation. Consciousness is not a group of entities like chemical compounds, but is rather an organic unity, every part of which has its life and its meaning in inseparable relation with every other part. In order to know the individual mind as it projects itself in literary art, we need more than introspection. The individual can be known only in his relation to others, for all knowledge is relative. The individual is always more than an individual. He is a member of society, because his universal nature is ever breaking through the seclusion of individual existence. He loses himself in society in order to find himself in literary and other social activities. That is to say, the consciousness and will of an ethnic group and the assertion of its individuality are not uttered through the group as a whole, but through the medium of individuals.

Ultimates always transcend analysis. The *vera causa* of literary genius is as inexplicable as the cause or real nature of electricity, chemical affinity, or gravi-

tation. Sometimes we are able to register the outward tangible beginning of things, but the veritable genesis of anything lies beyond human observation. We can ascribe a date to the first successful telephone or automobile, but these dates merely mark the consummation of innumerable unconscious experiments in different parts of the world. In the same way the reason why Shakespeare could write drama, while his Warwickshire neighbour could not do so, resolves itself into unsolved problems of heredity rather than environment, for in the case of Shakespeare and his neighbour the environment was identical.

That genius is a mode of atavism is a plausible enough surmise. According to this hypothesis ordinary men are swayed by their proximate parentage and circumstances, whereas a few reproduce the character of remote ancestors, whose life was such a contrast to ours that their way of thinking is strange to the normal individual of recent generations. Of the philosophy of the alleged atavism we know nothing, so that the speculation is profitless. A much simpler and more probable explanation of the genesis of genius is to regard it as a sign of superior inventiveness or imagination. In either case, why heredity should produce genius, no man knows.

On the other hand, though genius appears to be insoluble as a result, it is fairly intelligible as a cause. If we accept the time-honoured division of mental phenomena as feeling, knowing or thinking, and volition, literature is ultimately reducible to three corresponding types, namely, lyric, narrative, and dramatic, the second of which usually dominates the two others in prose composition. From these standpoints, of course, the manifestations of literature are as various as the emotions and thoughts and efforts of the human spirit. Literary criticism endeavours to register what has been, but it may not at all times dictate what ought

to be, because genius has again and again brushed aside the authority of hypothesis. An artist of unusual originality or individuality may create a demand or alter a national taste. So far as theme and treatment are concerned, the gifted artist always feels free to range throughout the universe in the search for that ideal beauty which quickens into an individual creation. In other words, wherever or whenever he discerns æsthetic potentiality, he alone decides whether and in what way it shall be made real for his fellowmen.

Although we have already observed that from the ethnic viewpoint there is a direct ratio between average progress in culture and average progress in individuality, this does not mean that primitive tribes have no personalities that differ in any respect from their fellows. Striking personalities are most numerous under democratic government, simply because society is so constituted as to permit a synthesis of human solidarity and human freedom. While the clan chorus of a hunting tribe is one of its characteristic features, improvisations are by no means rare. These impromptu verses possess very little intrinsic merit, yet they are interesting as efforts toward self-realisation, toward a vague æsthetic ideal. Countless impromptu chants spring up and perish almost immediately. Occasionally a dance-song will survive because it has for one reason or another met with social endorsement. In Australia and other places such a lyric will be fashionable for a longer or a shorter period, giving a new turn to the emotions and thoughts of the improviser's own tribe and of other tribes far and near.

We need scarcely remind ourselves also that in some primitive and most barbaric tribes there are a few men so much more gifted than their fellows that they prepare new songs for every great festival that occurs, though songs of bygone artists continue to survive as

traditional favourites. All such verses perish only when men tire of them, or when new songs express more vividly the current ideals of the tribe.

Admitting all this, nevertheless the life of primitive man is one in which the objective consciousness determines the trend of his thoughts. At that stage man looks without rather than within. Unlike men of higher culture he possesses no keen sense of individual personality. He has no clear conception of anything within himself that elevates him into unity with the external force to which he renders homage, although his pathetic struggles toward this sense of unity are visible in his festal and informal literature. There can be but little real individuality in men who misunderstand and are afraid of things external.

The influence of the individual is more definitely at work in autocratic and especially in democratic literature. The terrors of the unknown begin to vanish from the outward world. Accordingly man begins to awaken to a sense of his freedom. The mastery of nature is coexistent with the mastery of self. At times man may conceive of an unseen monarch before whom he trembles, yet he feels free to obey or disobey. The quickening sense of self-consciousness makes him at times feel aloof from all other individuals, human or divine. Finally comes reconciliation. He begins to see that there is no inherent antagonism between subject and object, and when this dawns upon him, the thought of the oneness of all life's strivings gives him the calm courage and confidence of a free man, a man who recognises his own individuality and that of others.

In national life while accident plays a part in the preservation of records, it is apparent that each step in literary progress is first taken by persons of unusual individuality, persons of constructive imagination, who give timely expression to the ideals of the ethnic group

to which they belong. The stronger and the more pleasing the impression they make upon their fellows, the longer will the composition survive and the more eagerly will others seek to imitate or surpass the master. It is in this way that literary guilds or schools or movements commence, and they flourish until men become more interested in the novelty of another leader of style or of thought. Under favourable conditions the suggestibility of any community rises to the surface. Those literary suggestions that survive the changes of fashion are brought about by geniuses who reflect, yet rise above, temporal or local peculiarities. Speaking with the accent of their age and their country, they may reach all mankind, and leave their mark upon the form and the content of all subsequent literature.

Men of such individuality forge old materials upon the anvil of their brain, and out they come in the shape of a literary creation. With such men, whether born and reared in a primitive tribe or in the midst of modern civilisation, old things become new, and not merely new but so true to the needs of the ethnic group that other men will not permit them to perish. Energetic geniuses impose their will upon the crowd. They alter the trend of literary style or thought by transmutation, by "bringing the new antecedent of a free cause," as Kant would say, "into the time sequence of ordinary cause and effect." It is because they interpret what is below and above the thought of their contemporaries that such men are beacons in the flowing tide of literary evolution. They present to us an ideal which is not in contrast with reality, but is simply that reality stripped of the accidents which conceal its beauty from our vision.

So far as we are able to appreciate his work, the artist of originality raises us to his own plane of comprehension, so that we see ourselves and the world

with his eyes. Still if this were all, art would be in bondage to individual caprice. There would be no criterion to guide us in the estimation of works of art. Fortunately the best thought of genius is never a private affair. It is really an attitude and an altitude of consciousness wherein each individual becomes in a sense identified with all others. A great poet, for example, is always endowed with that broad human sympathy which enables its possessor to assimilate the subtle influences that produce no impression upon natures less sensitive. Through his work, through his initiative, the ethnic group catch a glimpse of his viewpoint and are drawn upward.

The last clause of the law of initiative raises the question of literary taste. Few will doubt that spontaneous impressions and the judgments suggested by taste have but a dubious value, unless these impressions and judgments emanate from persons of considerable culture. An illiterate person or a primitive community may derive great enjoyment from what people of greater refinement would consider doggerel rather than noble poetry. In order to estimate objectively the intrinsic value of literary products we need a certain familiarity with those principles which underlie the world's choicest art-forms. But some may fear that the acquisition of accurate scholarship is to be too dearly purchased if it involves the loss of that delicate sensibility which has usually been considered the quintessence of human culture.

The truth is, however, that increase of knowledge involves keener appreciation of the beautiful. Taste can never be absent from literary criticism, though in no instance could it be weakened by exact information. Some people are reluctant to analyze their feelings, yet the more we know, the more we know and are in love with beauty. Superior knowledge will make the members of any community more capable of feeling

æsthetic power by the readiness with which they may recognise it under changing forms. It is and always will be true that without a disciplined taste and imagination, the most exquisite conceptions of poetry may have but little more significance than the Mayan glyphs of Central America. This is one of the chief justifications for a science of literary art, the mastery of whose principles inevitably tends to develop and guide both taste and imagination.

What, then, is the constitutive nature of the law of initiative, as leading to a certain distinct end? The answer is that it reveals a criterion of universal validity, whereby any specimen of literature may be appraised by the professional critic or by the ordinary layman.

Every genius has much in common with his predecessors and contemporaries; but what is peculiarly his own, what is strictly original, is something outside the scope of the recognised rules of literary criticism. The rules of art criticism in general are simply the formulation of qualities observed in the work of art leaders.

How have these works attained leadership? They have attained leadership, they have become acknowledged masterpieces, primarily because they have been sanctioned by the community in which they were brought into being. The critic is the gifted spokesman who gives deliberate utterance to the sentiments already felt by his fellow-men.

The value of a literary product is to be gauged by the breadth and duration of its appeal. The supreme test of either prose or poetry is not the efficiency to please a clan or a tribe or a nation for a day or for a generation, but its efficiency in pleasing mankind permanently. Such works, tested in the crucible of human experience, possess the highest merit, because they represent the universal rather than the particular to

the imagination through the senses. Their appeal to man rises above the accidents of time and place.

Now, if in all lands and in all ages popular approval be the ultimate standard in estimating literary merit, if mankind gives the verdict in the highest court of appeal, if this tribunal alone ensures the permanence of literature or any other fine art, what is the function of the critic? For him there is no infallible method of estimating contemporary genius, if it is characterised by distinct originality. The original is the unknown quantity, the personal equation, different from anything observed in the past. The critic is frequently obliged to pass judgment upon the productions of his own time, and cannot wait for the final decision of posterity. Under these circumstances the best that can be done is to measure the new by faithful comparison with the old. When the new work does not closely reproduce a norm already existent, it can be judged only by comparison with the norm that is nearest.

Accordingly literary criticism calls for a form of scholarship which is acquired only by the special student of letters. The layman admires; the critic tells him why. The beauty that pleases the multitude needs to be interpreted in the light of an analysis of the highest achievements of the past. Modern critical inquiry gives us a perception of the ideal aspects of literary art, and thus really prepares the community to appreciate more readily the æsthetic qualities of future works, whether cast in verse or in prose. To the rest of society the critic makes intelligible that sense of the beautiful which, in one guise or another, has been potent since the genesis of literary impulses.

Third Law

The Law of Responsiveness may be stated thus: *Other conditions being equal, literary form and content*

vary directly with the orientation of mental responsiveness in a given community.

Under the law of initiative it was necessary to discuss the question of causal genius. We cannot forget, however, that conversely every cause which comes within our observation is itself a result of some antecedent. The greatest literary genius is never independent of time and space. In a very real sense he does rise above the community of which he is a member, and yet in some measure he reflects and embodies the political impulses as well as the social aspirations of his age. The form or style of his prose or poetry is nothing more than the individual modification of what his predecessors and contemporaries have already attempted. Moreover, the content or thought of his composition is largely drawn from conceptions current in the community since the days of his childhood. Every artist, however great, is inseparably knit to humanity.

We can never understand the nature of any individual by merely regarding him as an object of immediate observation. At a given moment the individual intelligence is simply a phase of a process which he shares with society. The consciousness of any man or set of men is moulded by the thought of the age and of a given locality. Original minds are gifted exponents of the spirit of their time, nor can they be understood apart from their social surroundings. Every step by which primeval consciousness has evolved toward clearer notions of self and of the world, toward self-realisation, persists in humanity to-day in virtue of its genetic relation to antiquity. We know ourselves in proportion as we know what is not ourselves. It is this capacity of transcending the visible and the finite that gives dynamic spiritual quality to the noblest efforts of the individual and of mankind.

If mental responsiveness had no existence, society

would be impossible. If literature were not a reflection of the character of the thought of a given community, it would be unintelligible. It is because we can approximately measure the degree of self-realisation, that we are able to classify literary phenomena according to variations of form and content. In other words, we are obliged to conclude that at given stages of social evolution literary products are circumscribed in motive. Each art-product, literary or otherwise, is a reflection of the individual mind directly, of the ethnic mind indirectly. At a specific culture-grade each literary type exhibits tribal or national modifications, the sum of which is the range of variation, whether it be primitive or barbaric, autocratic or democratic. Of the environmental causes of variation the social invariably looms above the physical or geographic. The content of a narrative poem, for instance, may embrace the word-picture of an antelope seen by the Kwai, of fruit-trees swaying before the Semang, or of an ice-floe encountered by the Eskimo, yet in every case the poetic form is influenced by the group-mind, which can always be distinguished by its progress in social culture or nature-conquest. The so-called local colour of literature is a mere adjunct of ethnic thought.

The character or the direction of individual and communal susceptibility is a constant factor in the literary form and content of any ethnic group. Let us suppose, for example, that Molière, possessing the same physical and mental capacity, had been born in neolithic France instead of seventeenth-century France. Is it conceivable that either the form or the content of his compositions would bear a close resemblance to the comedies which he actually produced? Analysis of the components of his style and thought indicates that while there are certain features in his work, as in that of every man, which make it unique, nevertheless he was indebted to Hellenic, French, and general Euro-

pean models and conceptions, which could not have been known to a neolithic tribesman of France or any other country.

Again, let us suppose that the great dramatist, possessing an identical intellect, had been born an Andamaner or an Eskimo instead of a modern Frenchman. He would, of course, be brought up in the same social atmosphere as his fellows, would be educated in the customs of his tribe, would gain a living as a hunter, would compose impromptu dance-songs moulded by the habitual attitude or mental orientation of his clansmen toward each other as well as nature. His literary compositions would be oral, would doubtless win much applause from his less gifted contemporaries; yet in spite of his best endeavours to give an æsthetic expression to an individual ideal, he would inevitably be restricted to a plane of thought comprehensible to his associates, and his best improvisations would be nothing more than modifications of traditional or contemporaneous creations. Under such conditions comedies such as those of Paris are unthinkable, because there is no exception to the rule that literary form and content are ultimately dependent upon the trend of communal thought.

Although any English-speaking person of normal intelligence may learn to translate French into German or German into French, it takes much longer to learn that, strictly speaking, translation from one speech into another is a supremely difficult task. A literal translation is always inexact because it ignores inner correspondence, though it is true that as a rule precision in rendering one language into another is not indispensable. In all languages, whether of tribes or of nations, words have so many delicate shades of meaning, so many nuances, that an accurate translator must be able to think in the language which he seeks to render into his own. Each mode of speech

is the immediate outcome of tribal or national thought. The man who goes to reside in a foreign land, seldom hearing or speaking his mother tongue, unconsciously acquires a new set of opinions. Linguistic variation corresponds with thought variation; that is to say, each tribe or nation has ideas peculiarly its own, more or less common to every member of the social organism. It is this ethnic mode of thinking that appears in idiomatic phraseology, and that inevitably presents itself in the style and thought of literature. The responsiveness or reaction of a given community to any literary creation is determined by the orientation or customary attitude of its members toward man and nature.

Communal orientation is virtually a habit of attention, shared more or less by every unit of the social organism. In the last analysis all habits of attention are habits of apperception. A work of art will produce æsthetic effect in proportion to the skill with which its creator succeeds in attaining concord with the apperceptional habits of his fellows. If there is to be mental responsivity on the part of the community, the art-product must be apprehended with comparative ease, and arouse sympathy with some, at least, of its æsthetic qualities. To sum up, every art-product, all literature, in its varying phases is an outcome of social life, presenting itself under the necessary operation of causes which govern human conduct in general.

Of course, no student of anthropology will fall into the popular error of supposing that the cultural ranks of peoples are of necessity equivalent to corresponding differences in intelligence. The differences are in orientation, and consequently in the nature of the responsiveness. In the elevation of humanity the achievements of white people appear to have surpassed those of any other, the highest forms of culture having been reached by white, yellow, red, and black, in a descending scale.

This, of course, by no means proves that a particular black man, for instance, may not possess greater intelligence than a particular red man; it is simply a question of average racial achievement as registered by ethnology and history. The tribal kinsmen of American negroes continue to enjoy the barbaric literature of Africa, whereas the white man's culture has been in some measure assimilated by all those who have been reared in an identical environment. In short, the mental orientation of a community is decisive in its effect upon the form and content of literature. The coefficient of responsiveness is fundamental.

Formulas

Each of the three provisional laws of literary evolution may be more luminous to some readers, if cast into the shape of a formula. In the case of the law of progress, let A = average literary advance, S = self-consciousness, and W = world-consciousness, then the formula reads:

$$A = S + W.$$

The law of initiative may be similarly stated. Let P = progressive literary step, I = individuality, and C = community's readiness for the new discovery, then the formula is:

$$P = I + C.$$

Finally, in the law of responsiveness let L = literary form or content, R = responsiveness, and O = orientation, then—

$$L = R \pm O.$$

That is to say, with equal responsiveness the orientation will increase or diminish the intrinsic merit of the literary form and content.

Definition

Having reviewed the salient literary data at every observable plane of evolution, and having endeavoured to interpret these complex facts by means of three provisional laws or generalisations, we are now in a position to appreciate such a definition of literature as will be, at least approximately, in conformity with the phenomena. There are several ways of expressing the same conception. Literature is the verbal utterance of man's groping toward the light and beauty of self-realisation. Literature is an æsthetic revelation, conscious or unconscious, of man's spirit to himself and to others through the agency of words. Literature is the linguistic expression of æsthetic ideals, prose or poetry being preferable according to the nature of the literary content.

Conclusion

Here is an old Keltic tale of farewell. It was a night of mist, a low moon brooding over the braes, the heathery braes. The man sat by the seashore, as he sang quaint ballads of a land across the water, where men never see death. There was none to reveal the secrets of the glens, nor could any one tell him what the eagle cried to the stag at the corrie, while the burn wimpled on with its song of sobbing. He sat and listened, but he was knowing naught of sadness. To his ears came only the accents of the fairies of joy, and they called him to seek the fountain where song had its birth. Away from the sea he climbed till its voice came faint, faint across the bracken. At last, full weary, he slept. The night passed, and a leveret stood up, gazing upon his face without fear. A deer came to the stream, beheld the sleeping figure, and fled not. A grey linnet perched upon the pale hand lying

across the bosom; it looked the sun in the face, and sang, but the man did not awake. Again the shadows melted into the night of stars, and the hills said to one another, "He has found Death and Life. For we know, and God knows, all his dreams. He has found the secret of the sea, the message of all the streams, and the fountain-head of song."

In quest of literary strivings and achievements, lowly as well as exalted, we have journeyed through all the principal lands of the globe. The forests of Africa have shaded us from the scorching sun, and the tang of the salt sea has smitten us off Cape Horn. Visions of scenes familiar have mingled with sights and sounds of cities that flourished forty centuries ago. Wherever we have gone, we have noticed that vitality is the quality which gives permanent value to all true art. Popular opinion, blind perhaps to the qualities of art as art, caring nothing about the more elusive charms of verse and prose, is quick to detect the presence or absence of a vital relationship between literature and humanity. Literary art voices life and gives life. The higher the art the more effectively does it fill the onlooker with a sense of life, personal and racial, dignified, wholesome, inexhaustible. Apparently it is the ideal within the real that becomes ever more manifest in the course of the evolution of literature.

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